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MONTPELIER, Vt

the Seat of the late James Madison

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OF

DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS:

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

In every age and nation distinguished for arts and learning, the inclination of transmitting the memory and even the features of illustrious persons to posterity, has uniformly prevailed. The greatest poets, orators, and historians, were contemporaries with the most celebrated painters, statuaries, and engravers of gems and medals; and the desire to be acquainted with a man's aspect, has ever risen in proportion to the known excellence of his character, and the admiration of his writings.—GRANGER.

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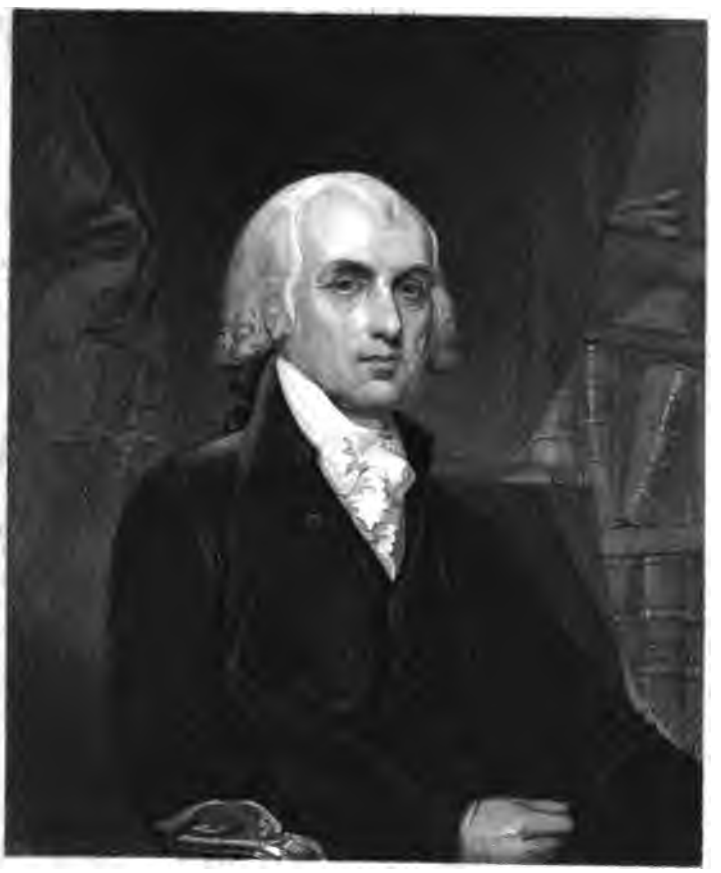

James Madison

JAMES MADISON

JAMES MADISON was born on the 5th of March, 1751, (O. S.) at the dwelling of his maternal grandmother opposite to Port Royal, a town on the south side of the Rappahannock, in Virginia. The house of his parents, James Madison and Nelly Conway, was in Orange county, where he resided through life. In his father's lifetime it was a plain brick building, to which Mr. MADISON added porticoes with extensive colonnades in front and rear, and other improvements. Situated on the west side of the south-west mountain, at the foot of the Blue Ridge, about five and twenty miles from Charlottesville, it is remarkable for the beauty of the scenery and the purity of the air; and likewise that within a short distance of each other, in that region, three presidents of the United States, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, all resided, as closely connected in personal attachment as political faith, who have impressed on the country a large share of the policy and distinction of these United States

After passing through the usual elementary education, Mr. MADISON was placed, at about twelve years of age, under the tuition of Donald Robertson, a distinguished teacher in that neighborhood, with whom he accomplished the common preparatory studies for a collegiate course. These studies were further prosecuted under the Reverend Thomas Martin, the parish minister, of the established church of England, who was engaged as private tutor in his father's family.

The climate of Williamsburgh being deemed uncongenial with persons from the mountain region, Mr. MADISON, instead of being put at the college of William and Mary, was sent to that of Princeton, N. J., of which Dr. Witherspoon was then president; where he completed his college education, and received the degree of bachelor of arts in the autumn of 1771. Mr. MADISON always retained a lively recollection of Dr. Witherspoon's learning, and often indulged the inclination, which throughout life characterized him, of sprightly narrative

and imitation, by playfully repeating the doctor's curious remarks in a broad Scotch accent. While at college, his health was impaired by over-ardent study: it continued feeble in consequence, during some years after his return home. He had laid the deep foundations of those attainments, habits, and principles, which gradually, but without fail, raised him to after eminence: and when he got home, with ruined health, far from neglecting literary pursuits, he persevered in extensive and systematic reading, somewhat miscellaneous, but not without reference to the profession of the law, although he formed no absolute determination to enter upon the practice; which Burke says, while it sharpens the wits, does not always enlarge the mind. Mr. MADISON studied probably just law enough, but his breeding was altogether that of a statesman; an American statesman, for he never was out of his own country; and though it has often, truly, been said, that he would have made a great chief justice of the United States, yet his studies and acquirements were free from all technical or professional restraint, and his seldom if ever equalled power of reasoning was always exercised on a large scale, and philosophical comprehension of the subject matter. From nature, from habit, it may be even from the imperfect state of health to which he was reduced at the outset of his career, his was the most passionless course of education and elevation. He never addressed a passion or required a prejudice: but relying on reason alone for every conviction, he effected his purpose without any appeal to prejudices. His political principles do not differ so much from his great predecessor's, Mr. Jefferson, as his manner of imbibing and imparting them. Taking nothing for granted, by intuition, or sympathy, he worked out every result like a problem to be proved. No one was ever more inflexibly attached to the principles of his adoption: but then he always adopted them on earnest consideration and sufficient authority, before he gave them his affections. They were not his natural offspring.

Having received very early and strong impressions in favor of liberty, both civil and religious, he embarked with the prevalent zeal in the American cause at the beginning of the dispute with Great Britain; but his devotion to study, and his impaired health, probably prevented his performing any military service. Devoted to freedom of conscience, he was particularly active in opposing the persecution of the Baptists, then a new sect in Virginia, who were consigned in some instances to jail for violating the law prohibiting preaching by dissenters from the established church. Throughout life he was remarkable for strict adherence to the American doctrine of absolute separation

between civil and religious authority; and one of his vetoes, while president, attested, that in advanced station and age, the principles early taken upon this subject were as dear to him as at first, when he was but a young and gratuitous reformer.

In the spring of 1776, when twenty-five years of age, he was initiated into the public service, from which he rarely afterwards was absent for forty years of constantly rising eminence, till it was all crowned by that spontaneous retirement from the highest station which is itself the crown of American republicanism. His first election was to the legislature of Virginia, which, in May of that year, anticipated the declaration of independence by unanimously instructing the deputies of that state to propose it.

It is a signal proof of Mr. MADISON's merits, that in this assembly, being surrounded by experienced and distinguished members, he modestly refrained from any active part in its proceedings; and never tried that talent for public debate which afterwards he displayed so eminently. Beyond committee duty and private suggestions, he was unknown in the assembly. At the succeeding county election he was superseded by another competitor. His failure was partly owing to his declining to treat the electors; but in no small degree to the diffidence which restrained him from giving fair play to his faculty of speech, and active participation in public affairs. His refusal to treat, because he held it inconsistent with the purity of elections, may be a lesson to the ambitious, and not unworthy the notice of the temperate. In one of the first steps of his public life, he sacrificed success to that purity, sobriety, and it may be said chastity, of conduct, from which he never swerved. Because, as was imputed, he would not treat, and could not speak, JAMES MADISON lost his election!

But the legislature, in the course of the ensuing session, repaired this popular defection by appointing him member of the council of state, which place he held till 1779, when he was elected a delegate to the congress of the revolution. During the first part of his service in the council, Patrick Henry was governor of the state; and during the latter part of it, Mr. Jefferson. Both these personages experienced and appreciated the importance of Mr. MADISON's assistance, knowledge, and judgment, in a station which did not put his natural modesty to the severe trial of public display. His information, patriotism, perfect probity, and unpretending worth, gained for him the first fruits of his maturing character. He proved himself a safe and serviceable man; recommendations, without which brilliancy is often troublesome, and always useless.

Mr. Jefferson used to say, that Mr. MADISON rendered himself very acceptable to the members of the legislature by his amiable deportment, and by the services he performed in drafting reports, bills, &c., for them. It was this that recommended him for election the next winter as a member of the executive council, where his talents for writing and for business generally, particularly his acquaintance with the French language, of which Governor Henry was ignorant, and which was necessary to the executive of Virginia, in their then constant intercourse with French officers, soon made Mr. MADISON the most efficient member of the council. He wrote so much for Governor Henry, that Mr. Jefferson said he was called the governor's secretary. This council was, moreover, the best adapted stage for his first essays as a public speaker: not consisting of more than ten persons, their debates were less trying to a modest man. So extreme was Mr. MADISON's diffidence, that it was Mr. Jefferson's opinion, that if his first public appearance had taken place in such an assembly as the house of representatives of the United States, Mr. MADISON would never have been able to overcome his aversion to display. But by practice, first in the executive council of Virginia, and afterwards in the old congress, which was likewise a small body, he was gradually habituated to speech-making in public, in which he became so powerful.

Elected to congress, he took his seat in that body in March, 1780; and was continued there by reëlections till the expiration of the allowed term, computed from the ratification of the articles of confederation in 1781. From the spring of 1780 to the fall of 1783, the journals show, what is known to all, that he became an active and leading member of congress, taking prominent part in many of the most important transactions. The letter of instructions to Mr. Jay, American minister in Spain, in October 1780, maintaining the right of the United States to the Mississippi river, and the address to the states at the close of the war, urging the adoption of the plan providing for the debts due to the army, and the other public creditors, were composed by him, and are some of the earliest of his contributions to those American state papers which, during the infancy of the United States, were among their most powerful means of conservation and advancement.

In the years 1784, '5, and '6, he was elected a delegate by his county to the state legislature: and it is worthy of remark, that one reason why Virginia was always fruitful of statesmen of the first rank, is, that they constantly, all of them, sought seats in the state assembly, where such men both acquired and conferred the experience and

knowledge which make statesmen. During Mr. MADISON s service in this capacity, it was his primary object to explain and inculcate the pressing necessity of a reform in the federal system, and to promote the means leading to such amelioration. The independence of the United States was recognised rather than established. More perfect union was indispensable to their general welfare. The pressure of war being withdrawn, nationality almost disappeared amid the conflicting interests of many independent states, languid with exhaustion, after the struggle almost in conflict with each other, and in obvious danger of a deplorable relapse. The unsuccessful attempt to vest congress with powers immediately required for the public wants, led to the meeting at Annapolis in August, 1786, to which Mr. MADISON was deputed, and which resulted in a recommendation of the convention with fuller powers, at Philadelphia, in May, 1787. The state of Virginia promptly set the example of compliance with this recommendation, by an act drawn by Mr. MADISON, and by the appointment of a deputation, in which he was included. The tenor of that act, and the selection of the delegates, with Washington at their head, manifest her solicitude on the occasion.

From 1784 to 1786, inclusive, beside what related to the federal system, several subjects of great importance were agitated in the Virginia legislature: paper money, British debts, the separation of Kentucky from Virginia, the code of laws revised by Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton, and the religious establishment proposed by Mr. Henry: Mr. MADISON took a conspicuous and effective part in all these proceedings; against paper emissions, in favor of paying British debts, in favor of the separation of Kentucky, in support generally of the revised code, and in opposition to a religious establishment. To the latter project he was strenuously and successfully an explicit antagonist; and he composed the memorial and remonstrance, which was so generally concurred in and signed by persons of all denominations, as to crush Mr. Henry's scheme.

The journal of the federal convention which sat at Philadelphia in 1787, proves that he participated as much as any member of that body in framing the constitution of the United States, which for now sixty-five years has been the government of this country. A letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Adams the elder, which has been published, states, as is otherwise well authenticated, that Mr. MADISON preserved the debates of that convention at much length and with great exactness: and there is reason to believe, that in due time this precious minute will be given to the community. For many years the survivor

of all his associates in that illustrious assembly, Mr. MADISON is entitled by various claims to be called the father of the constitution. As a leading member of the convention which framed the government, of the congresses which organized it, of the administration of Mr. Jefferson, which conducted it for a long time in the path it has since for the most part followed, and finally as the head of his own administration in its most trying time, when the exigencies of war were superadded to the occasions of peace, no individual has impressed more of his mind, either theoretically or practically, on it, than JAMES MADISON.

During the same period, and until the expiration of the old congress, to which he had been reappointed in 1786, he continued a member of that body. His avowed object in returning there, was to prevent, if possible, the project, favored by congress, of shutting up the river Mississippi for a long period. That measure, besides other causes of complaint, threatened to alienate Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, from any increase of the federal powers. If the magnificent and inexhaustible south-west now teaches us by overwhelming lessons the impolicy of any thing tending to deprive the United States of such immense resources, let the foresight of Mr. MADISON, and such other statesmen as strained every nerve to avert that misfortune, be appreciated as it should be, not only throughout that region, but everywhere in the United States.

In the interval between the close of the convention at Philadelphia for framing the federal constitution, and the meeting of the state conventions to sanction it, the well-known work called the Federalist was written, which has since become a constitutional text-book. Gideon's edition authenticates Mr. MADISON'S contributions to it, and it is too well known to require that in this sketch of his life it should be dwelt upon.

Till his country was secured, and its welfare established by a proper form of national government, Mr. MADISON was constant and indefatigable in his endeavors to explain and recommend it for adoption. Accordingly, in 1788, he was elected by his county a delegate to the convention of Virginia, which was to determine whether that state would accede to it. His agency in the proceedings of that convention appears in the printed account of them, and is too familiar with every person whose attention has been turned to the subject, to require explanation.

On the adoption of the constitution, he was elected a representative to congress from the district in which he lived, in February, 1789, and remained a member by reëlections till March, 1797. His participa-

tion during those eight years in all the acts and deliberations of congress, was so prominent and pervading, that nothing of importance took place without his instrumentality, and in most of the leading measures his was the leading place; especially in all that concerned foreign relations. Addressing the house on all important questions, he never spoke without full preparation; and so completely exhausted every topic he discussed, that it was remarked by his adversaries that Mr. MADISON's refutation of their views frequently suggested arguments which they themselves had not thought of, to be answered by him in the same triumphant strain of calm and respectful, but irresistible reasoning. Every one knows that in the formation of parties under the lead of Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Hamilton respectively, Mr. MADISON took side with the former, or what was called the democratic party, contradistinguished from what was called the federal party, particularly on the great dividing questions of the bank and the British treaty. But there never was any personal estrangement between him and Washington; and throughout the lives of both, each did full justice to the talents, principles, and patriotism of the other. Nor did Mr. MADISON, however differing from much of the politics of Hamilton, ever entertain any but the highest opinion of his abilities, services, and good intentions.

In 1794 he married Mrs. Todd, the widow of a respectable lawyer of Philadelphia; a lady of Virginia parentage, of most amiable disposition and engaging deportment, whose constant attachment and excellent temper, her courtesy to all persons while her husband was president, and her unintermitting attentions to him afterwards, when enfeebled by age and infirmity, rendered his connection with her what he never ceased to consider it, as the happiest event of his life.

The celebrated resolutions of the legislature of Virginia, in 1798, against the alien and sedition laws, are now known to have been written by Mr. MADISON, though not a member of that legislature. And it being understood that a vindication of those resolutions would be called for, he was elected a member the next year, and drew up the yet more celebrated report containing the vindication, which, like the papers of the Federalist, has become an acknowledged standard of constitutional doctrine. These state papers were frequently appealed to during the unhappy nullification controversy, and though sometimes partially misrepresented, cannot be misunderstood when properly explained and considered. For under whatever state of excitement, either between contending parties of his own country, or between it and foreign nations, Mr. MADISON's numerous and admirable state

papers may have been drawn up, there is a tone of moderation, as well as an abiding earnestness, candor, and force of truth about them, together with a simplicity of diction and plainness of argument, that prevent either misrepresentation or refutation.

In 1801, he was appointed one of the Virginia electors of president and vice president, and voted with all the rest of his associates for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr.

Mr. Jefferson, after the well-known struggle that preceded his election, being chosen president of the United States in 1801, appointed Mr. MADISON his secretary of state, in which office he continued during the eight years of Jefferson's presidency, illustrating the whole period by his masterly writings, judicious suggestions, and unexceptionable conduct. This is not the occasion for a full view of his performances in the department of state: but it may be said, in a word, that of all the great disputes on international and municipal law, evolved by an epoch that at last, after unexampled forbearance and efforts to avert hostilities, closed with the war which it was Mr. MADISON's destiny to conduct as chief magistrate,—the complicated questions of the conflicting rights of war and peace, colonial commerce, contraband trade, impressment of seamen, search and seizure of ships and cargoes, blockades, embargoes, non-importation and non-intercourse,—there was not one which Mr. MADISON did not present to his country and before the world with a power of research, of argument, and of reasoning, unsurpassed in the annals of diplomatic writing. In 1805, he visited Philadelphia, for more convenient access to the best treatises on the subject of a pamphlet he published in 1806, on the British doctrine against the trade of neutrals with enemies' colonies. Throughout every succeeding year, the public was constantly enlightened by his elaborate productions, which every session of congress brought forth. On the question of impressment, the most trying and also the most perplexing of the grievances to which the United States were then subjected, his letters to the American ministers in England, and the British ministers in this country, were composed with a power equal to all we could desire, and in a temper which it was impossible for them to take offence at. It has been said with perfect truth, that give Mr. MADISON the right side of a good cause, and no man could equal him in its vindication. The department of state at that time was the main stay of the country. Doubting the ability of the United States to contend in war with the great belligerents who were devastating the world by land and sea; at all events, deeply interested in adhering to that system of neutrality which Washington established

and to which no one was more thoroughly attached than Mr. MADISON; his exertions to substitute the moral artillery of that department for brute force, were incessant and intense. Although the war he tried so hard to prevent came at last, in spite of his exertions and Mr. Jefferson's immoveable determination to go out of office in peace; yet the legacy of trouble which was left by him to Mr. MADISON when he succeeded to the presidency, was at any rate preceded by a theory of prevailing if not perpetual peace in that code of international justice and fair intercourse, which is now a goodly part of the inheritance of these United States, and a national property that all other civilized nations have begun to appreciate. That free ships make free goods, was a principle deemed by Mr. MADISON a legitimate part of the law of nations, and the best guarantee for maritime peace. Peace on earth and good-will to all mankind, were always principles dear to him. War he considered only and rarely tolerable as a necessary evil, to be kept off as long, and whenever it takes place, to be closed as soon, as possible.

With these impressions, it was nevertheless his lot to be president during the war which was declared against Great Britain in June, 1812. In 1809, he was elected president, on the retirement of Mr. Jefferson: and excepting the short glimpse of accommodation which proceeded from Mr. Erskine's short-lived arrangement, the first period of his chief magistracy was but the prelude to the war which accompanied his reëlection. His inaugural addresses, annual messages, frequent special communications to congress, his proclamation for a fast, with the particular grounds on which it was issued, his letters to Governor Snyder of Pennsylvania in the Olmstead case, his recommendation of war, his conduct of the war, his various missions for peace, the peace of Ghent negotiated under his auspices, his settlement of the army, the navy, and the internal revenue, at the close of the war, his veto, on one of the last days of his administration, of the great system of internal improvement introduced by some of those who have since relinquished it as unconstitutional—these, together with the bank of the United States, may be deemed the principal measures of his plan of the federal government. Too many of the actors in those scenes are yet living and in public life, to render it proper to do more than merely indicate these measures. Before long, they will be treated by history and judged by posterity. But already, before Mr. MADISON's demise, there appeared to be well-nigh one universal sentiment of cordial respect and deference towards him as a patriot of the purest intentions and wisest conduct. Undertaking the presidency at a crisis

of the utmost difficulty, he continued in it, by reëlection, during the established period of eight years, and when he retired, left the country in the highest degree glorious, prosperous, and content. It cannot be but that future ages must look back to his administration as a time of great trial and great renown. The constitution which had succeeded in peace, under his governance triumphed in war. Hostilities were indeed checkered with the reverses which seldom fail to occur. But under all circumstances, Mr. MADISON was the same. Victory never elated, disasters never depressed him beyond measure; always calm, consistent, and conscientious, there was confidence that he would do right, come what might. Exposed to that deluge of abuse which the leading men of free countries, with a licentious press, cannot avoid, he was perfectly serene and unmoved by any vindictive emotion; true to friends, patient with adversaries, resolute but forbearing even with public enemies. All the emergencies of war never once betrayed him into infringements of the constitution. It has been stated on high authority, that while a candidate for the presidency, no one, however intimate, ever heard him open his lips or say one word on the subject. While president, he underwent torrents of calumny without the slightest complaint. If the uncomfortable necessity of being obliged to remove a secretary of state, or of war, or a postmaster-general, crossed his path, he performed the disagreeable duty with all possible gentleness, but with inflexible firmness. Constitutionally simple and unostentatious in his habits, tastes, and intercourse, he still sustained the dignity belonging to such a life and such a station as his.

At about sixty-six years of age he retired from public life, and ever after resided on his estate in Virginia, except about two months while at Richmond as a member of the convention in 1829, which sat there to remould the constitution of that state. His farm, his books, his friends, and his correspondence, were the sources of his enjoyment and occupation, during the twenty years of his retirement. During most of that time his health, never robust, was as good as usual, and he partook with pleasure of the exercise and the conviviality in which he had always enjoyed himself. A good farmer on a large scale, he acted for some time as president of an agricultural society, and for a much longer time, first as visiter, and after Mr. Jefferson's death, as rector of the University of Virginia, located at Charlottesville, in his neighborhood; among whose founders and friends he bore a conspicuous part. Prevailed upon, when just convalescent from severe illness, to be a member of the Virginia convention of 1829, the infirm condition of his health, being then near eighty years old, prevented his

taking a very active part in its deliberations. His main purpose, indeed, appears to have been to promote a compromise between parties so stiffly divided on local and personal interests as to threaten the tranquillity of the state. On some of the principal topics discussed, he is understood to have yielded his own opinions to that consideration, as well as the urgent instances of his constituents.

At eighty-five years of age, though much reduced by debility, his mind was bright, his memory retentive, and his conversation highly instructive and delightful. Suffering with disease, he never repined. Serene, and even lively, he still loved to discuss the constitution, to inculcate the public good, and to charge his friends with blessings for his country. He was long one of the most interesting shrines to which its votaries repaired: a relic of republican virtue which none could contemplate without reverence and edification.

On the 28th of June, 1836, he died; as serene, philosophical, and calm in the last moments of existence, as he had been in all the trying occasions of life.

We cannot close this brief account of the life and public services of Mr. MADISON more appropriately, than by the following extract from the proceedings in the house of representatives of the United States, when the announcement of his death was made by the president to both houses of congress.

"WASHINGTON, *June* 30, 1836.

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives.*

"It becomes my painful duty to announce to you the melancholy intelligence of the death of JAMES MADISON, ex-president of the United States. He departed this life at half past six o'clock, on the morning of the 28th inst., full of years and of honor.

"I hasten this communication, in order that congress may adopt such measures as may be proper to testify their sense of the respect which is due to the memory of one whose life has contributed so essentially to the happiness and glory of his country, and to the good of mankind.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

The message having been read, and the house addressed by Mr. Patton, of the Virginia delegation, who offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed on the part of this house, to join such committee as may be appointed on the part of the senate, to consider and report by what token of respect and affection it may be proper for the congress of the United States to express the deep

sensibility of the nation to the event of the decease of Mr. MADISON, just announced by the president of the United States to this house."

On the reading of the resolution, the following remarks were made by Mr. Adams, the only surviving ex-president of the United States, and then a member of the house of representatives.

"It is not without some hesitation, and some diffidence, that I have risen to offer in my own behalf, and in that of my colleagues upon this floor, and of our common constituents, to join our voice, at once of mourning and of exultation, at the event announced to both houses of congress by the message from the president of the United States—of mourning, at the bereavement which has befallen our common country by the decease of one of her most illustrious sons—of exultation, at the spectacle afforded to the observation of the civilized world, and for the emulation of after times, by the close of a life of usefulness and of glory, after forty years of service in trusts of the highest dignity and splendor that a confiding country could bestow, succeeded by twenty years of retirement and private life, not inferior, in the estimation of the virtuous and the wise, to the honors of the highest station that ambition can ever attain.

"Of the public life of JAMES MADISON, what could I say that is not deeply impressed upon the memory and upon the heart of every one within the sound of my voice? Of his private life, what but must meet an echoing shout of applause from every voice within this hall? Is it not in a preëminent degree by emanations from his mind, that we are assembled here as the representatives of the people and states of this union? Is it not transcendantly by his exertions that we address each other here by the endearing appellation of countrymen and fellow-citizens? Of that band of benefactors of the human race, the founders of the constitution of the United States, JAMES MADISON is the last who has gone to his reward. Their glorious work has survived them all. They have transmitted the precious bond of union to us, now entirely a succeeding generation to them. May it never cease to be a voice of admonition to us of our duty to transmit the inheritance unimpaired to our children of the rising age."

MRS. MADISON.

The parents of Dolly Payne were natives of Virginia, and ranked among the most respectable citizens of the state. While on a visit to some of her friends in North Carolina, Mrs. Payne gave birth to her eldest daughter, the subject of this memoir, who, although accidentally born in another state, claims the title, so dear to all who possess it, of being a *Virginian*. In disposition she is decidedly so, having been imbued by nature with all that warmth, frankness, and generosity, which are the distinguishing traits of the Virginian character.

Soon after their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Payne joined the society of Friends, or Quakers, manumitted their slaves, and removed to Pennsylvania. The subject of this memoir was educated in Philadelphia, according to the strict system of the society to which her family belonged; a system which has utility for its basis, and which forbids the acquirement of those graceful and ornamental accomplishments, which are too generally considered the most important parts of female education.

Whatever grace and polish, dancing, music, painting, and foreign languages may bestow, many most lovely examples among the women of this society, prove that these accomplishments may be dispensed with without any diminution of the attractions of the sex.

To none of these acquired graces and accomplishments was Miss Payne indebted, for the admiration and regard which followed her wherever she was known: nor were her attractions only those of form or feature, for although nature had lavished on her much personal beauty, her greatest charm consisted in the warm heart that lent its glow to her cheek, and its sparkle to her eye,—the kindness and benevolence of her disposition, which imparted a fascinating smile to her lips, and a beaming brightness to her countenance. These were charms that won her not only admirers but friends, and which the withering effects of time cannot destroy, but which "at sixty, bloom as fair as at sixteen."

Although nature was prodigal, fortune was niggard in its gifts; nor in her early life was she indebted to wealth or rank for the consideration she enjoyed in society.

At an early age Miss Payne was married to Mr. Todd, a young lawyer of Philadelphia, and a member of the society of Friends. During his lifetime she continued to live in the simplicity and seclusion of that sect, though even then, the beauty which became afterwards so celebrated, began to attract attention. Soon, however, she was left a widow with an infant son. After the death of her husband, her father also being dead, she returned to live with her surviving parent, who had fixed her residence in Philadelphia.

The personal charms of the young widow, united as they were with manners, cordial, frank, and gay, excited the admiration and awakened the kind feelings of all who came within their influence; and, unaided by the extrinsic and accidental advantages of fortune or fashion, she became a general favorite, and the object not only of admiration, but of serious and devoted attachment. Among many lovers, equally distinguished by their rank and talents, who sued for her favor, she gave the preference to Mr. Madison, then one of the most conspicuous and respectable members of congress; and in the year 1794, became the wife of that truly great and good man.

From that time until Mr. Madison came into the administration along with Mr. Jefferson, she lived in the full enjoyment of that abundant and cordial hospitality, which is the distinguishing characteristic of a Virginia planter. The house was always filled to overflowing with guests, who came, not ceremoniously invited to formal entertainments, but freely and kindly bidden to the hospitable board, and social pleasures of the domestic circle. Her widowed mother and orphan sisters were made partners of the bounties and blessings lavished on her by a kind Providence; and the fond affection of her husband was evinced by the regard and kindness he showed to all whom she loved and cherished, and on her part was reciprocated by a similar attention to the happiness and comfort of his aged mother, who continued to dwell with her son.

In this situation, Mrs. Madison appeared to be in the very sphere for which nature had designed her. Her circumstances were in perfect accordance with her disposition, and the liberal gifts of fortune were liberally participated with all around her. The happiness she herself enjoyed, she bestowed on others; and the sunshine of her own bosom gladdened with its warmth and brightness the little world of which she was the centre—her family and friends.

Mr. Madison being appointed secretary of state, removed with his family from his happy home to Washington, in April, 1801.

The infant metropolis of the union was at that time almost a wilderness. The president's house stood unenclosed on a piece of waste and barren ground, separated from the capitol by an almost impassable marsh. That building was not half completed, and standing as it did amidst the rough masses of stone and other materials collected for its construction, and half hidden by the venerable oaks that still shaded their native soil, looked more like a ruin in the midst of its fallen fragments and coeval shades, than a new and rising edifice. The silence and solitude of the surrounding space were calculated to enforce this idea; for beyond the capitol hill, far as the eye could reach, the city as it was called, lay in a state of nature, covered with thick groves and forest trees, wide and verdant plains, with only here and there a house along the intersecting ways, that could not yet be properly called streets.

The original proprietors of the grounds on which the city was located, retained their rural residences and their habits of living. The new inhabitants who thronged to the seat of government, came from every quarter of the Union, bringing with them the modes and customs of their respective states. Mr. Madison from Virginia, Mr. Gallatin from Pennsylvania, General Dearborn from Massachusetts, and Robert Smith from Maryland, were the heads of the several departments of government. With these came numerous political friends and dependants, to fill the subordinate places in the public offices.

A society formed of such various materials, presented a most novel aspect. Unconnected by similarity of habits—by established fashions—by the ties of acquaintance or consanguinity—this motley throng soon became united into one close and intimate circle, by a feeling common to all,—they were strangers in a strange land, and felt the necessity of mutual aid and accommodation, and might be compared to a beautiful piece of mosaic, in which an infinity of separate pieces of diversified colors, are blended into one harmonious whole. Mr. Jefferson, many years after his retirement from public life, recurring to that time, remarked to a friend, that the peculiar felicity of his administration was, the unanimity that prevailed in his cabinet; "we were," said he, "like one family." The same spirit of union and kindness pervaded the whole circle of society—a circle, at that time, very limited in its extent, and very simple in its habits. The most friendly and social intercourse prevailed through all its parts, unshackled by that etiquette and ceremony, which have since been

introduced, to the no small detriment of social enjoyment. The president's house was the seat of hospitality, where Mrs. MADISON always presided, (in the absence of Mr. Jefferson's daughters,) when there were female guests. After the president's, the house of the secretary of state was the resort of most company. The frank and cordial manners of its mistress, gave a peculiar charm to the frequent parties there assembled. All foreigners who visited the seat of government; strangers from the different states of the union; the heads of departments; the diplomatic corps; senators, representatives, citizens, mingled with an ease and freedom, a sociability and gayety, to be met with in no other society. Even party spirit, virulent and embittered as it then was, by her gentleness was disarmed of its asperity. Individuals, who never visited at the president's, nor met at the other ministerial houses, could not resist the softening influences of her conciliatory disposition, of her frank and gracious manners, but frequented her evening circle and sat at her husband's table—a table that was covered with the profusion of Virginian hospitality, rather than with the elegance and refinement of European taste. The lady of a foreign minister was once ridiculing the enormous size and number of the dishes with which the board was loaded, and observed, that it was more like a harvest-home supper, than the entertainment of a secretary of state. Mrs. MADISON heard of this and similar remarks, and only observed with a smile, that she thought abundance was preferable to elegance; that circumstances formed customs, and customs formed taste; and as the profusion, so repugnant to foreign customs, arose from the happy circumstance of the superabundance and prosperity of our country, she did not hesitate to sacrifice the delicacy of European taste, for the less elegant, but more liberal fashion of Virginia. The many poor families daily supplied from that profusely spread table, would have had reason to regret the introduction of European fashion, had Mrs. MADISON been prevailed on to submit to its dictation.

During the eight years that Mr. Madison was secretary of state, he and his family lived with the inhabitants of Washington as with fellow-citizens; receiving and reciprocating civilities in the most kind and friendly manner. The secretary himself, being wholly absorbed in public business, left to Mrs. MADISON the discharge of the duties of social intercourse. And never was a woman better calculated for the task. Exposed, as she necessarily must have been in so conspicuous a situation, to envy, jealousy, and misconstruction, she so managed as to conciliate the good-will of all, without ever offending the self-love

of any of the numerous competitors for her favor and attention. Every visiter left her with the pleasing impression of being an especial favorite, of having been the object of peculiar attention. She never forgot a name she had once heard, nor a face she had once seen, nor the personal circumstances connected with every individual of her acquaintance. Her quick recognition of persons; her recurrence to their peculiar interests, produced the gratifying impression, in each and all of those who conversed with her, that they were especial objects of regard.

Her house was very plainly furnished, and her dress in no way extravagant. It was only in hospitality and in charity that her profusion was unchecked, and sometimes made her sensible that her income was not equal to her wishes.

When the term of Mr. Jefferson's presidency drew near its close, the spirit of political intrigue which had lain dormant, was again roused into activity. A new president was to be chosen, and there were several competitors for the people's favor. Each had partisans, zealous and untiring in the canvass, who left no means unemployed to ensure success. Private society felt the baneful influence of these political intrigues; social intercourse was embittered by party spirit; personal confidence was so often violated, that a degree of circumspection became necessary, almost incompatible with that frankness and candor, which constitutes the charm of intimate society.

In these trying times Mrs. Madison appeared to peculiar advantage; her husband was assailed with all the violence of political animosity, and calumnies invented where facts were wanting. Amid this cruel warfare of conflicting parties, so calculated to excite angry feelings, Mrs. Madison, who felt every attack on her husband more keenly than any made on herself, (and such were not wanting,) met these political assailants with a mildness, which disarmed their hostility of its individual rancor, and sometimes even converted political enemies into personal friends, and still oftener succeeded in neutralizing the bitterness of opposition. In accordance with her husband's wishes, she continued her civilities, uninfluenced by party politics, whilst Mr. Madison, with the imperturbable serenity of unimpeachable integrity, viewed with philosophic indifference the violence, injustice, and turbulence of the political combatants. He considered the assaults of the press, only as proof of its freedom, and that the angry feelings which found a vent through this medium, were far less dangerous than if restricted by legal prohibition; he believed that when the effervescence of popular excitement should subside, hostility would cease.

Thus thinking, he with unaltered equanimity continued his social intercourse with persons of all opinions; the chiefs of different parties met at his house with perfect good humor; and the frank and polite attentions of Mrs. MADISON were paid, without distinction, to all who joined her social circle.

Her snuff-box had a magic influence, and seemed as perfect a security from hostility, as a participation of bread and salt is among many savage tribes. For who could partake of its contents, offered in a manner so gracious, and retain a feeling inimical to its owner? Any one, a stranger to the persons of the great leaders of opposition, and to the violent partisans, who on the arena of public contention were almost at daggers drawn, would not have recognised them in the smiling and courteous personages who stood round the mistress of the mansion.

The kindly feelings thus cultivated, triumphed over the animosity of party spirit, and won a popularity for her husband, which his lofty reserve and cold manners would have failed in effecting.

The moment of decision arrived, and Mr. Madison was declared president of the United States.

In Washington, the day of his inauguration was a day of jubilee. Gladness and kindness seemed the universal feeling. Every face beamed with smiles of gratulation, and every hand was stretched out in cordial greeting. A residence of eight years in the city, by making Mr. and Mrs. MADISON well known, had obtained for them a regard, warm and sincere. To sentiments of personal regard, was added the full assurance of a continuance of the same paternal interest and watchful care for the welfare and advancement of the city, which had been uniformly exhibited by the late administration.

After Mr. Jefferson left the city, Mr. Madison removed to the president's house, which soon became the centre of a gay and brilliant circle, and yet of social and delightful society. In addition to large dinners every week, a drawing-room was now opened, where the beauty and fashion of the nation found the best theatre for display. Those who remembered the stiff formality and strict ceremonials of Mrs. Washington's drawing-room, anticipated a renewal of the same dull scene. But Mrs. MADISON was a foe to dulness in every form, even when invested with the dignity which high ceremonial could bestow. All unnecessary etiquette was banished, and no requisitions made beyond those which regulated good society in private houses.

The sunshine of prosperity shed its most unclouded rays on this favorite of nature and of fortune. But prosperity could not spoil her;

could not harden a heart susceptible of all the tenderest charities of life.

But this scene of general and individual prosperity was interrupted by the war, which spread desolation along our coasts, and brought ruin and devastation to the city of Washington.

This is not the place to discuss the causes of that fatal event News arrived that the British forces had landed forty miles below the city. Their destination was unknown. Several roads led across the country to the city, and several to Baltimore; and when it was ascertained that Washington was their object, the commanders of our army —for unfortunately the command was divided, at least authority over General Winder was claimed by the secretary of war—could not agree on the route to be chosen, nor the measures to be adopted to oppose the British forces who were advancing in the country. In this dilemma, the president was appealed to, and with a view of settling this difference, went, accompanied by several members of the cabinet and some personal friends, to Bladensburg, where they unexpectedly found the two armies engaged. Meanwhile terror spread over the city. Every one who could find a conveyance of any kind whatever, made their escape to the adjoining towns. Those who were unprovided with a conveyance, fled on foot, carrying with them whatever could be so carried. The sound of the cannon was distinctly heard. The dismay was universal. Mr. Madison, who had gone forth only to hold a council of war, returned not; no one in the city pretended to any authority; the whole was a scene of confusion. Some personal friends who had remained with Mrs. Madison, most vehemently urged her to leave the city. They had her carriage brought to the door, but could not persuade her to enter it until her husband should return and accompany her. But an extract from a letter written to her sister, though necessarily broken and abbreviated, will give a truer, if not a fuller view of her trying situation, than any other pen can do.

"*Tuesday, August* 23, 1814.

"Dear Sister.—My husband left me yesterday morning to join General Winder.—He inquired anxiously whether I had courage, or firmness, to remain in the president's house until his return, on the morrow, or succeeding day, and on my assurance that I had no fear but for him and the success of our army, he left me, beseeching me to take care of myself, and of the cabinet papers, public and private.—I have since received two despatches from him, written with a pencil; the last is alarming, because he desires I should be ready at a moment's warning to enter my carriage and leave the city; that the enemy seemed stronger than had been reported, and that it might happen that they would reach the city, with intention to destroy it. * * * * * * I am accordingly ready; I have pressed as many cabinet papers into trunks as to fill one carriage; our private property

must be sacrificed, as it is impossible to procure waggons for its transportation. I am determined not to go myself until I see Mr. Madison safe, and he can accompany me,—as I hear of much hostility towards him, * * * disaffection stalks around us. * * * * * My friends and acquaintances are all gone,—even Col. C——, with his hundred men, who were stationed as a guard in this enclosure. * * French John (a faithful domestic), with his usual activity and resolution, offers to spike the cannon at the gate, and to lay a train of powder which would blow up the British, should they enter the house. To the last proposition I positively object, without being able, however, to make him understand why all advantages in war may not be taken.

"*Wednesday morning, twelve o'clock.*—Since sunrise I have been turning my spyglass in every direction and watching with unwearied anxiety, hoping to discern the approach of my dear husband and his friends; but, alas, I can descry only groups of military wandering in all directions, as if there was a lack of arms, or of spirit to fight for their own firesides!

"*Three o'clock.*—Will you believe it, my sister? We have had a battle or skirmish near Bladensburg, and I am still here within sound of the cannon! Mr. Madison comes not; may God protect him! Two messengers covered with dust, come to bid me fly; but I wait for him. * * * At this late hour, a waggon has been procured; I have had it filled with the plate and most valuable portable articles belonging to the house; whether it will reach its destination, the Bank of Maryland, or fall into the hands of British soldiery, events must determine.

"Our kind friend, Mr. Carroll, has come to hasten my departure, and is in a very bad humor with me because I insist on waiting until the large picture of General Washington is secured, and it requires to be unscrewed from the wall. This process was found too tedious for these perilous moments; I have ordered the frame to be broken, and the canvass taken out; it is done,— and the precious portrait placed in the hands of two gentlemen of New York, for safe keeping. And now, dear sister, I must leave this house, or the retreating army will make me a prisoner in it, by filling up the road I am directed to take. When I shall again write to you, or where I shall be to-morrow, I cannot tell!!"

The disastrous events which followed, are too well known to need description, even if the limits of this sketch allowed of the melancholy details. During the remainder of Mr. Madison's presidential term, he resided in a private house; where, however, he received company with undiminished hospitality. When at the expiration of his official service he left the city of Washington, and returned to his mountain home, his departure was lamented as a private as well as public loss by the citizens, with whom his family for sixteen years had lived on terms of reciprocal kindness.

Always fond of agricultural pursuits, Mr. Madison joyfully returned to his beautiful and peaceful home. Montpelier was within less than a day's ride of Monticello, and in the estimate of a Virginian, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison were neighbors. Both had run the whole career of public life—had endured its toils and its troubles, had been crowned with its highest honors, and were now reunited in the dignity and tranquillity of domestic retirement, surrounded with the objects of their dearest affections, and every resource which virtue, learning, and philosophy could furnish; and to crown all, a friendship which the

conflicts of public life had never interrupted, which absence had never chilled, and which death only could terminate.

Embosomed among the hills which lay at the foot of the south mountain, was the paternal estate of Mr. Madison. Naturally fertile, but much improved by his judicious care, a comparatively small part was kept under cultivation, the greater part being covered with its native forests. A large and commodious mansion, designed more for comfort and hospitality than ornament and display, rose at the foot of a high wooded hill, which, while it afforded shelter from the north-west winds, added much to the picturesque beauty of the scene. The grounds around the house owed their ornaments more to nature than art, as, with the exception of a fine garden behind, and a wide spread lawn before the house, for miles around the ever varying and undulating surface of the ground was covered with forest trees. The extreme salubrity of the situation induced the proprietor to call it Montpelier.

One wing of the house, during her lifetime, was exclusively appropriated to the venerable and venerated mother of Mr. Madison, to which was attached offices and gardens, forming a separate establishment, where this aged matron preserved the habits and the hours of her early life, attended by old family slaves, and surrounded by her children and grandchildren.

Under the same roof, divided only by a partition wall, was thus exhibited the customs of the beginning and end of a century; thus offering a strange but most interesting exhibition of the differences between the olden and the present age. By only opening a door, the observer passed from the elegancies, refinements, and gayeties of modern life, into all that was venerable, respectable, and dignified in gone-by days. From the airy apartments—windows opening to the ground, hung with light silken drapery, French furniture, light fancy chairs, gay carpets, &c., &c.,—to the solid and heavy carved and polished mahogany furniture darkened by age, the thick rich curtains, and other more comfortable adjustments of our great-grandfathers' times. It was considered a great favor and distinction by the gay visiters who thronged Mr. Madison's hospitable mansion, to be admitted to pay the homage of their respects to his revered mother. The last time the writer of this article enjoyed that privilege, she was in her ninety-seventh year, but she still retained all her faculties, though not free from the bodily infirmities of age. She was sitting, or rather reclining on a couch; beside her was a small table filled with large, dark, and worn quartos and folios, of most venerable appearance. She closed one as we entered, and took up her knitting which lay beside her.

Among other inquiries, I asked her how she passed her time. "I am never at a loss," she replied; "this and these," touching her knitting and her books, "keep me always busy; look at my fingers and you will perceive I have not been idle." In truth, her delicate fingers were polished by her knitting-needles. "And my eyes, thanks be to God, have not failed me yet, and I read most part of the day. But in other respects I am feeble and helpless, and owe every thing to *her*," pointing to Mrs. MADISON who sat by us. "She is *my* mother *now*, and tenderly cares for all my wants." My eyes were filled with tears, as I looked from the one to the other of these excellent women, and thought of the tender ties by which they were united. Never, in the midst of a splendid drawing-room, surrounded by all that was courtly and brilliant—all that was admired and respected—the centre of attraction—the object of admiration,—never was Mrs. MADISON so interesting, so lovely, so estimable, as in her attendance on this venerable woman, the acknowledged object of her grateful affection.

Much as she graced her public station, she was not less admirable in domestic life. Neighborly and companionable among her country friends, as if she had never lived in a city; delighting in the society of the young, and never better pleased than when promoting every youthful pleasure by her participation; she still proved herself the affectionate and devoted wife during the years of suffering health of her excellent husband. Without neglecting the duties of a kind hostess, a faithful friend and relative, she smoothed and enlivened, occupied and amused, the languid hours of his long confinement: he knew, appreciated, and acknowledged the blessing which heaven had bestowed on him, in giving him such a wife.

Mrs. MADISON lived to adorn society and to enjoy its honors, till a good old age; and at her death was surrounded with unusual marks of public esteem.

Engraved by Joe Hoppner Meyer from a Painting by J.B. Longacre after an Original Portrait

Lach.ⁿ M.ᶜ Intosh

LACHLIN M'INTOSH.

Major-General Lachlin M'Intosh was born at Borlam, not far from Inverness, in Scotland, in the year 1727. He was the second son of John More M'Intosh, who was the head of the Borlam branch of the clan M'Intosh. The kindred houses of Moy and Borlam had been the chiefs of the warlike clan "Chatan" for many ages; they had mingled in all the feuds that divided Scotland for centuries, and though not decorated with courtly titles, claimed for themselves a distinction in the ancient wars of their country, beyond all others of the northern clans. But the glory of the house of Borlam was destined to sink in the Rebellion of 1715. John More M'Intosh, the father of General Lachlin M'Intosh, was born in the year 1701. He was not fourteen years old at the period of the Rebellion, and was therefore too young to command his clan in battle; but his uncle, William M'Intosh, had gained experience and acquired renown in foreign service, and as he then administered the affairs of his nephew, he led that portion of the clan M'Intosh that were immediately connected with the house of Borlam, to join the Pretender of that day, who made him a brigadier general. William M'Intosh crossed the frith of Forth in open boats at night, surprised and defeated the English near Edinburgh. He distinguished himself during the whole contest; but when finally the collected forces of the Pretender were assembled at Preston, they were surrounded, and he was taken prisoner. His fall brought down ruin upon his nephew and the house of Borlam. The property of his family was confiscated; too young himself to suffer in person, he was stripped of every thing, and, from having been rich, became poor From that memorable time to 1736. John More M'Intosh lingered in obscurity upon what had been his own property. He married, however, and had several children, naming his eldest son William after his unhappy uncle, then a prisoner in the Tower; and his second son, Lachlin, after his own father, who had died a few years before the

Rebellion of 1715. It is not to be wondered then that the invitation of General Oglethorpe (who was himself more than suspected of participating in the political feelings of the family) to emigrate to America, should have been welcomed at Inverness by one then living in poverty, but who had not forgotten that the time was when the sound of his own bugle would have rallied a thousand kinsmen around him for war—to the knife.

John M'Intosh, with his family, and one hundred and thirty Highlanders who followed his fortunes, arrived in Georgia with General Oglethorpe, in the month of February, in the year 1736, and was immediately settled upon the Altamaha, at a point which they named New Inverness, now Darien. General Oglethorpe had, three years before this time, purchased land of the Creek Indians, and planted a small colony at Savannah, upon the Savannah river, to be a chain of connection with Carolina. The eastern costume of the highland clansman, his cap and plume, his kilt and plaid, soon became very dear to the red man of the woods: they mingled together in their sports, they hunted the buffalo together, for the woods of Georgia were then as full of buffalo as the plains of Missouri now are; and the writer of this notice was told when a boy, by General LACHLIN M'INTOSH, that when a youth, he had seen ten thousand buffalo within ten miles of Inverness.

But new misfortunes now awaited the M'Intosh family. John More M'Intosh had first been appointed the civil commandant of New Inverness, and after General Oglethorpe had been authorized to raise a regiment, he was instructed to enrol a hundred of his Highlanders, who were to constitute the light infantry of the regiment.

General Oglethorpe advanced in 1740 to the invasion of Florida, through the rivers that constitute the inland navigation of this country, and took post upon an island opposite St. Augustine. Captain M'Intosh, with his Highlanders and a few auxiliary Indians, marched by land. Upon reaching within a few miles of St. Augustine, he was joined by some militia from Carolina, and placed under the command of Colonel Palmer of that state. From his superior officer undervaluing the Spaniards, or not being aware of their numbers, he allowed himself to be surprised at fort Moosa, within four miles of the Spanish fort, by almost the whole Spanish garrison. There were many breaches in the walls of fort Moosa, and the first notice that Captain M'Intosh had of the advance of the Spaniards, was the rush of a regiment of Spanish grenadiers through these breaches. His Highlanders rallied around him, but himself and thirty-six of his men fell wounded

or dead at the first charge. This surprise, in truth, led to the failure of Oglethorpe's expedition. Oglethorpe had no officer to exchange for Captain M'Intosh; the Spaniards, therefore, sent him a prisoner to Old Spain, where he was detained several years from his family: nor did he return to them, but with a broken constitution, soon to die, leaving his children to such destiny as might await them, without friends, in the wilds of America: for their only friend, General Oglethorpe, was soon to be recalled in preparation to meet the Rebellion of 1745, when he too was doomed to suffer degradation from the duke of Cumberland, and injury to his military reputation.

Lachlin M'Intosh was thirteen years of age, when his father was wounded and taken prisoner at St. Augustine. General Oglethorpe, upon his return, placed his elder brother and himself in his regiment as cadets, and would no doubt, in due season, have procured commissions for them; but just as he was himself leaving Georgia to meet rumors of the invasion of England by the Pretender, the two young brothers were found hid away in the hold of another vessel; for they too had heard the rumors of another attempt of the ancient house of Stuart to vindicate their rights against the Brunswick family, and were anxious to regain or perish in the attempt of reëstablishing their own house. General Oglethorpe sent for the two young lads into his own cabin; he spoke to them of the friendship he entertained for their father, of the kindness he entertained for themselves, of the hopelessness of every attempt of the house of Stuart, of their own folly in engaging in this wild and desperate struggle, of his own duty as an officer of the house of Brunswick; but if they would go ashore, be hereafter quiet, and keep their own secret, he would forget all that had passed;—he received their pledge, and they never again saw him.

The means of education in Georgia at that period, as may well be supposed, were very limited, yet Lachlin M'Intosh and his brothers were well instructed in English under their mother's care, and after they were received under the patronage of General Oglethorpe, were instructed in mathematics, and other branches necessary for their future military course. But when General Oglethorpe left Georgia, all hope, and perhaps all wish, for remaining longer attached to his regiment, ceased in the young men. William became an active and successful agriculturist, and Lachlin, in search of a wider field of enterprise, went to Charleston in South Carolina, where his father's gallantry, and his father's misfortunes, drew upon him the attentions of many; and his fine and manly appearance, his calm, firm temper, his acquirements for his opportunity, procured for him first the ac

quaintance, and then the warm friendship, of Henry Laurens, the most distinguished and most respectable merchant at that time in Charleston, afterwards president of congress, and first minister from the United States to Holland. Mr. Laurens took the young M'Intosh into his counting-house and into his family, and with him he remained some years. In association with this enlightened and respectable gentleman, Mr. M'Intosh had an opportunity of studying men and books, and of filling up the blanks in his education. From some repugnance to commerce, arising probably from his early military propensities, he did not adopt the pursuit of his friend and patron, but after spending some years in Charleston, he returned to his friends still residing on the Altamaha; where he married and engaged in the profession of a general land surveyor. His talents particularly qualified him for this course, as well by his education, as by his disposition, and therefore he soon obtained independence and the promise of fortune, in the acquirement of extensive bodies of what were then deemed valuable lands. But when he had been engaged for some years in these pursuits, Georgia became involved in a dispute with Carolina about the right of soil of the lands between the Altamaha and St. Mary's rivers. The first charter of Georgia to the trustees, had taken out of the ancient limits of Carolina the territory between these two rivers; she still claimed all that was beyond the Altamaha, therefore, as belonging to Carolina, and as the Indian claim to this land was extinguished, she gave grants to individuals for portions of the soil. Subsequent to that period, the chartered limits of Georgia had been extended to St. Mary's.

Governor Wright was a native of South Carolina, and had been attorney general of that province, before he was appointed governor of Georgia; he had both officially and personally differed with the higher authorities of South Carolina, and, in his administration of the government of Georgia, exhibited on every occasion great bitterness of feeling against his native province. Mr. M'Intosh, from his long residence in Charleston, and from his many friendships there, was the person to whom they looked, and with whom they advised, upon the many occasions in which they considered themselves unjustly treated. This circumstance was really the cause of, or afforded Governor Wright the pretence for, a long but deliberate opposition to the views and interests of Mr. M'Intosh: and thus was he gradually prepared and schooled by a petty persecution for the event that was approaching, long before the time had arrived for the separation of England and her American colonies.

LACHLIN M'INTOSH.

Every eye in Georgia was turned to General M'Intosh, as the future leader of whatever force Georgia might bring to the struggle for independence; and although living in solitude, and at a distance from Savannah, which had then become the populous and important and wealthy portion of the province; yet the Elberts, the Habershams, and Harrises, of that day, gallant and good men, felt no reluctance in yielding to him the first rank. When, therefore, a revolutionary government was organized, and an order for raising a regiment in Georgia was adopted, Lachlin M'Intosh was made colonel commandant; and again, soon after, when the order was extended to four regiments, he was immediately appointed brigadier general commandant, to take rank from September, 1776.

But about this time, unhappily for Georgia, and unhappily for General M'Intosh, the enlightened and patriotic president of the council, Archibald Bulloch, died, and was succeeded by a disappointed, ambitious, and restless man. Button Gwinnett was placed at the head of the civil power.

Georgia was at the extremity of the colonies; her people were more divided in sentiment upon the subject of independence than in the older provinces, for she had passed the last from the bosom of the mother country, and, in the convulsive struggle of parties so equally divided, there was more of venom than elsewhere. Division of opinion soon began to show itself in the state administration. General M'Intosh had been bred in a soldier's tent; he had been taught in his youth that it was honorable and just, because it was necessary, to kill his enemy in the field, with arms in his hands; but he could not reconcile it to his feelings to hunt him down like the wolf of the woods, nor permit this to be done where he could prevent it. This desire on his part to repress unnecessary cruelty, or impolitic suspicion, soon led to some bickerings with the head of the civil government. Although he had brought his troops into good military discipline, and into a high state of military feeling; and although he had turned aside, without material injury to Georgia, a strong invading force from Florida, and was himself wounded on the occasion; although his brother, his nephews, and his sons, all held rank under him, and had gained praise at this early period, wherever opportunity had been afforded them; yet still there had been no great occasion to win renown for himself: the enemy was elsewhere engaged, and Georgia had temporary repose, and but for the unquiet man at the head of the government, would have had time to prepare and strengthen herself against the evil day that was to arrive. This man had ventured to offer himself to the com-

mand of the troops, in opposition to General M'Intosh, and was rejected; and when unhappily, upon the death of Mr. Bulloch, he succeeded to civil power, he intermeddled with the discipline of the troops, irritated the angry passions of the people, and finally pointed suspicion and instituted a cruel prosecution against an honorable gentleman, a near and dear relation of General M'Intosh. The elder brother of General M'Intosh, William, had been appointed to recruit and command a regiment of cavalry, and which he, in a great measure, armed and equipped at his own expense; but upon this attack of the civil power upon his relative, he indignantly threw up his command. General M'Intosh, more calm, waited until Gwinnett ceased to be governor, when he told him sternly his opinion of his actions. Gwinnett challenged him; they met with pistols at eight feet; both fired; both were wounded: Gwinnett mortally. But all feud did not die with him, and Georgia being free from foreign enemies, General M'Intosh applied through his friend, Colonel Henry Laurens, to be ordered to join the central army under General Washington. This was most readily granted, with permission to carry his staff with him. He soon won the confidence of the commander-in-chief, and was placed for a long time in his front, while watching the superior forces under General Howe in Philadelphia. He remained in this delicate and important position until his services were required elsewhere.

The Indians on the north-western frontier, from New York to Virginia, had been brought into action by England;—General Schuyler was doing all he could to mitigate the sufferings of the people to the west of New York, but on the Ohio there was no unity of action in defence. In this situation, and under these circumstances, congress instructed General Washington to indicate an officer to undertake the difficult command: there were no laurels to be gleaned in a defensive war in an Indian field, and congress could not spare men for an offensive war with Indians, when her capitals, Philadelphia and New York, were in quiet possession of the enemy. General Washington knew, by experience, what unwearied watchfulness was necessary, even for self-preservation, in a war of this kind; and the officer in command was to march with a few hundred men over the same hills, and through the same valleys, for the same point, where Braddock and his troops were met, and had been destroyed: he was to encounter the same ruthless enemy, with feeble means, in the infancy of American power, before whom, many years after, a Harmar and a St. Clair were to fall.

General Washington reluctantly called upon General M'Intosh to undertake this difficult and dangerous command: and it was only the deepest sense of public duty, and obedience to the will of the commander-in-chief, whom he revered as a soldier and loved as a man, that made him consent to accept it.

General M'Intosh was instructed by congress to take command of the western districts of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He marched with a reënforcement of five hundred men to fort Pitt. He marched in single files, cautiously examining every brake and thicket in the way. The Indians hovered around him continually; but such was his cautious advance in the day, and his watchfulness in the night, that they found no opportunity of attack. He united the jarring opinions of people in that quarter, and gave repose to western Virginia. Under his auspices, Colonel Clark took Lieut. Governor Hamilton, and carried terror into the most secret retreat of the Indians; and during the whole period of his command, he was preparing means for offensive war at more distant points, until the early part of the year 1779.

It will be remembered by many, that at no period of the revolutionary struggle, was there more actual danger to American liberty, than at this eventful time; for Lee, and Gates, and Conway, and others, had almost seduced congress itself from the love which was borne to the virtues, and the respect which was entertained for the profound and varied talents of their great chief; and congress had contracted a habit of arranging plans, and of fashioning them, too, without availing themselves of his mighty mind Thus, a combined expedition to the south was arranged with Count d'Estaing, when there really were not troops enough in Charleston to insure its future defence. Congress engaged them in offensive operations in summer, without remembering that the night dew, in September, in Georgia, brought death upon its wings to all who were subjected to its influence: nor did it occur to Count d'Estaing, in entering into this arrangement, that the 11th of September would be the hurricane season upon a coast which did not, for five hundred miles, afford a single port in which his fleet might enter, in the event of disaster.

General M'Intosh had completed, in the month of April, 1779, every preparation for a successful attack upon Detroit, when he was recalled by the anxieties of General Washington (who foresaw all the dangers of this attempt), to take part in this ill-omened expedition; and he carried from General Washington to congress the letter which follows:—

"May 11, 1779. Brigadier General M'Intosh will have the honor

of delivering you this. The war in Georgia, being the state to which he belongs, makes him desirous of serving in the southern army. I know not whether the arrangements congress have in contemplation may make it convenient to employ him there; but I take the liberty to recommend him as a gentleman, whose knowledge of service and of the country promises to make him useful. I beg leave to add, that General M'Intosh's conduct, while he acted immediately under my observation, was such as to acquire my esteem and confidence, and I have had no reason since to alter my good opinion of him."

General M'Intosh was deeply sensible of the difficulties, which the time, and the condition of the American troops, afforded to success; but was too much interested in his country, his family, and his friends, not to desire to mingle his efforts with theirs for deliverance, if deliverance were possible.

The British troops were in the quiet possession of Savannah, under General Provost, and had an imposing force threatening Charleston under Colonel Maitland.

When General M'Intosh joined General Lincoln in Charleston, they made every preparation that their feeble means afforded for the invasion of Georgia, whenever the French fleet should arrive on the coast. General M'Intosh marched to Augusta, and took command of the advance of the American troops. He proceeded from thence down to Savannah, which he reached about the 10th of September, cutting off some small British parties, and driving in all the British outposts;—in expectation of being joined by the French, he marched to Beauley, where they expected to effect a landing.

From the 12th to the 14th, the French were landing. On the 15th, General Lincoln joined. By a fatality, the British commandant had been apprised of the approach of the French fleet as early as the 3d of September; the despatched vessels from which had made their first appearance off Tybee island, instead of Charleston; and the British troops had been most diligently engaged in improving their fortifications from that time: still, upon the 15th and 16th, their works were incomplete, and not more than thirty or forty guns mounted; but what was more important still, Colonel Maitland, with the *élite* of the British troops, had not arrived from Carolina. General M'Intosh, who had learned all this, pressed for an immediate attack; but Count d'Estaing, the commanding officer, believed he was sure of his game, and would not listen to the proposition. He coolly summoned General Provost to surrender; General Provost demanded time for reflection and consultation, which was granted. Colonel Moncrief, the most distin-

guished engineer of his day, was engaged, with a thousand men, white and black, strengthening the British post. Colonel Maitland arrived on the night of the 17th, with eight hundred veterans, to man the works; and General Provost then sneeringly refused to surrender. What was practicable and easy on the 15th and 16th, became impos sible on the 17th and 18th, when one hundred and fifty cannon had been mounted, and 2,800 veteran troops manned the trenches.

From that time to the 8th of October, the allied troops had been wasting away under the influence of climate; and Count d'Estaing became sensible that he could no longer trust his ships upon the open coast, exposed to tempest, and to the attack of the enemy. Stung with disappointment at reflections upon the past, he determined, before his retreat, to lead the American and French army to a desperate attack upon the British lines. At the rising of the sun on the 9th of October, the allied troops were led on by their officers: they succeeded in planting their standards on several points of the works; but the British cannon were pouring a fire upon their flanks that swept them off in masses. They were compelled at length to retire, leaving one thousand out of four thousand upon the field. The French troops and French fleet went to sea, and General Lincoln and General M'Intosh had to recoil upon Charleston, where they were soon themselves to be besieged by an overwhelming force under General Clinton; and where, after a long and gallant defence, and after doing all that human prudence and human courage could accomplish, they were compelled to surrender. General M'Intosh was detained for a long time a prisoner of war; and here, in a great measure, closes his military life, for he never again took any command.

When General M'Intosh was finally released, he retired with his family to Virginia, carrying with him the high testimonial that follows, from the officers who had served with him, and under him, at the siege of Charleston, belonging to the Virginia line; which constituted the most efficient part of the force of the southern army. This paper is in the form of a letter to Governor Jefferson:—

"*Haddrel's Point, January* 8, 1781.

"Sir,—The general and field officers whose names are subscribed, in behalf of themselves and the other officers of the Virginia line, take the liberty, through your excellency, to recommend Brigadier-General M'Intosh, of the continental army, to the particular notice of our state; and we request that himself and family may be entitled to lands, and every other emolument and advantage given for the encouragement of

officers, agreeable to the respective ranks that each of them held in the service, and to be considered every way in the same manner, as if he and they belonged to our line of the state of Virginia. We are induced to make this application in behalf of General M'Intosh, to show our esteem for him, as well as on account of the uncommon sufferings and sacrifices he has made in the service in behalf of this country, which deserve particular attention. This gentleman has, moreover, commanded part of our line with approbation, and the western part of our state for a considerable time, the good effects of which are still felt and acknowledged by our back inhabitants, some of whom are now here."

Signed by two general officers, sixteen field officers, and one hundred officers of lower grade.

General M'Intosh remained in Virginia with his family, until the British troops were driven from Savannah. When he returned to Georgia, he found his personal property had been all wasted, and his real estate diminished in value; and from that time to the close of his life, he lived in a great measure in retirement, and in some degree of poverty. His two gallant sons, William and Lachlin, who had followed him to the field, died at an early period of life, leaving no children behind them. His younger children had suffered much from his long absence in the public service, and all that remained of them at his death were four grand-daughters.

General M'Intosh died at Savannah in the year 1806, in the 79th year of his age. In his person he was tall: five feet, eleven inches; of athletic form and great activity. The writer of this memoir has heard his grandfather (the elder brother of General M'Intosh) say, that when a lad at New Inverness, there was not an Indian in all the tribes that could compete with him in the race: and he has heard his own father say, who first met General M'Intosh when twenty-five years of age, that he thought him the handsomest man he had ever seen. But times change, and men change with them. General M'Intosh in his old age, no more resembled Lachlin M'Intosh in his youth, than the trunk that has been reft by the lightning, and whose leaves have been scattered by the storm, resembles the tree that had once waved its green boughs on the hill.

Engraved by B. Reich from a picture by C. W. Peale in Peale's Museum Portrait

WILLIAM WASHINGTON.

WILLIAM WASHINGTON was one of those high-minded, chivalrous spirits of the south, whom the war of the revolution found and carried from his studies, and who exerted the most beneficial influence, throughout his career, in the glorious cause of American independence. He was called "the modern Marcellus," "the Sword of his country."

Colonel WASHINGTON was the eldest son of Baily Washington, of Stafford county, Virginia, and was designed by his father for the church; his attainments as a scholar were highly respectable: of the Greek language he was a remarkable proficient. He was one of the earliest to engage in the struggle of his country with Great Britain, and was appointed to the command of a company of infantry in the third regiment of the Virginia line. His first essay in arms was at York island, where his conduct elicited warm applause. In the retreat through New Jersey, he was distinguished for the fortitude with which he sustained its difficulties, hardships, and dangers. At the surprise of the Hessians, he led the van of one of the assailing columns, and whilst rushing with his company to the attack, received a severe wound from a musket ball, which passed entirely through his hand. Soon afterwards, three regiments of light dragoons having been raised, he was appointed a major in one of them, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Baylor. This corps was surprised in 1778, by a detachment of the enemy under General Grey, and almost cut to pieces. WASHINGTON, however, escaped, and, in the following year, was detached to join the army of General Lincoln in South Carolina.

There he was constantly employed with the light troops. His first rencounter with the enemy took place between Ashley ferry and Rantowle's bridge, when he drove back the cavalry of the British legion, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Tarleton, and took several prisoners; but being unsupported by infantry, he gained little advantage from

success. It is declared that Tarleton and WASHINGTON were personally engaged, and that in his flight Tarleton lost several of his fingers from a stroke of WASHINGTON'S sword. An anecdote is current, which we believe to be correct, respecting this rencounter, to the following effect. Tarleton, when on a visit to an American family, remarked in conversation that he should be glad to get a sight of this Colonel WASHINGTON, of whom he had heard so much; when a lady in company smartly observed "What a pity Colonel Tarleton did not turn his head when he lost his fingers!"

He has been thoroughly exonerated from all blame in relation to the surprises at Monk's Corner and Lanian's ferry, which had nearly caused the annihilation of the American cavalry, as in both instances he was acting in a subordinate capacity. Being compelled by these disasters to retire, with the remainder of his corps, to the borders of North Carolina, he solicited from General Gates the aid of his name and authority to facilitate its restoration and equipment. The general thought proper to refuse, and this refusal was severely punished in the battle of Camden, where the presence of a superior cavalry, led by such a gallant soldier as WASHINGTON, might have done much to insure success, or, at least, would have prevented the terrible slaughter which followed the defeat.

After this occurrence, Lieut. Colonel WASHINGTON was attached, with his cavalry, to the light corps commanded by General Morgan. By an ingenious stratagem, he carried the post at Rugely's, taking a large body of the enemy without firing a single shot. Aware of the character of his opponent, Rugely, he placed a pine log on the front wheels of a wagon, and painted it so as to have the appearance, at a distance, of a field-piece, threatening immediate destruction if resistance should be attempted. The affrighted colonel begged for quarter, and surrendered at discretion!

To the brilliant victory of the Cowpens, Colonel WASHINGTON contributed in a high degree, and congress voted him a silver medal in testimony of his gallant conduct on that occasion. His ardor in this affair had nearly cost him his life. Anxious to animate the troops to the pursuit by his example, he was hurried so far in advance as to be surrounded by several officers of the British legion, and was saved only by the bravery of a sergeant and his bugleman, Ball, who, by a pistol shot, disabled an officer, whose sword was actually raised for his destruction.

After the junction of the two divisions of the American army, at Guilford Court-house, his cavalry was made a part of a body of horse

and foot, selected by General Greene and placed under Colonel Williams. In the retreat into Virginia, and in all the manœuvres subsequent to the recrossing of the Dan, he essentially aided in baffling the skilful efforts of Cornwallis to force Greene to a battle. In the affair of Guilford, he acted a very conspicuous part. By a spirited and judicious charge, he broke the regiment of guards commanded by Colonel Stewart, who was killed, and in conjunction with Colonel Howard and his gallant Marylanders, nearly effected their entire destruction. Unfortunately, his hat fell from his head, and whilst dismounting to recover it, the officer next in command was so grievously wounded as to be disabled from managing his horse, which, wheeling round, carried him off the field. The rest of the cavalry followed, imagining that the movement had been directed. This accident saved the remnant of the guards, and in all probability the whole British army.

Colonel Garden says, "I heard from an officer of distinction in the army of the enemy, who was wounded in this action, the following interesting particulars:—'I was near General Webster when the charge was made by WASHINGTON. The desperate situation of the guards had its effect on all around. An officer of rank in the American army, quickly perceiving it, rode up to the British line, and called aloud, "surrender, gentlemen, and be certain of good quarters." Terrified by appearances, and concluding that defeat was inevitable, the soldiers of the regiment De Bose were actually throwing down their arms. Confusion was increasing. General Webster, whose presence of mind could not be disturbed, exclaimed, "Unless that gallant fellow is taken off, we are lost." A lieutenant of artillery, bringing up a field-piece at the moment, was directed to fire into the throng where the guards now appeared to be greatly outnumbered, and did so with the happiest success—the cavalry wheeled off, the remains of the battalion rallied, and the army was saved.'"

At Hobkirk hill, Colonel WASHINGTON obtained fresh and enduring laurels. By skilful manœuvring, he gained the rear of the British army, and captured eleven officers, with upwards of two hundred men. He was only able, however, to bring fifty of them off the field, in consequence of the retreat of the American forces.

At the battle of Eutaw, he exhibited signal valor, and made repeated charges on the British light infantry, who maintained their ground with a steadiness worthy of the attack. In a last effort for victory, his horse was killed under him, and, becoming entangled as he fell, in the ranks of the enemy, and unable to extricate himself, he was made prisoner

Though unfortunate, no hero had ever in a higher degree merited success.

This was the final scene of his military performances, which had always been characterized by decision, firmness, and bravery; he was always at his post, courting danger, and contemning difficulty.

He remained a prisoner until the close of the war. He then settled in Charleston, but passed much of his time at his plantation, Sandy Hill, in the parish of St. Paul's, thirty miles distant. He married a lady, equally distinguished for her virtues and accomplishments, of South Carolina, to whom he had become attached during his captivity. He had two children, a son, William, and a daughter; the former died at Charleston in March, 1830, aged 42; the daughter, who is a widow, Mrs. Ancrum, survived her whole family.

After the war, he served as a member of the legislature, where he gave such strong evidence of a capacity for civil service, that his fellow-citizens were induced to endeavor to persuade him to become a candidate for the office of governor. But his great modesty caused him to refuse every solicitation to that effect. "My ambition is," he constantly said, "to devote my services to my country, but there are two powerful reasons which render it impossible for me to aspire to the honor of governing the state. The first is, that till lately I was a stranger among you; and in my opinion the chief executive officer should be a native of the land over which he presides. Nor would I, on the score of qualification, put my talents in competition with those of many able men, who are ambitious of the honor. My other reason is insurmountable. If I were elected governor, I should be obliged to make a speech; and I know, that in doing so, without gaining credit in your estimation, the consciousness of inferiority would humble me in my own—*I cannot make a speech.*"

When General Washington accepted the command of the army, during the presidency of Mr. Adams, he selected his relative to be one of his staff, with the rank of brigadier general. His death occurred on the 6th of March, 1810, after a tedious and suffering indisposition, which he bore with heroic fortitude.

In person, Colonel Washington (who, it will be seen, had the title of general, but who is called colonel to distinguish him from the commander in chief,) was tall, and possessed of great strength and activity. His deportment in society was taciturn and modest. Possessing a very considerable property, in disposition he was hospitable, generous, and benevolent in the extreme, combining uprightness with kind and courteous manners.

JAMES JACKSON.

General James Jackson was born in the county of Devon, in England, on the 21st of September, in the year 1757. From his father of the same name, a man of respectable connections, honest character, and stern republican principles, he inherited an ardent devotion to liberty, which strongly manifested itself at a very early age. King, lords, and commons, with all the boasted glory and grandeur of Britain, had no charms for his unyielding and buoyant spirit, which already aspired at equality, and saw the prospect of gratification in the far distant regions of America. In 1772, at the instance of John Wereat, a leading whig in Georgia, the parental sanction was given to his abandonment of the home of his ancestors. With that gentleman he repaired to Savannah, and began to read law in the office of Samuel Farley, an eminent attorney, carrying on at the same time, with very limited advantages, the course of education commenced in England. His forensic and common studies were soon interrupted.

In 1775, he warmly espoused the cause of freedom; and is believed to have been among the first lads of his age who shouldered a musket in hostility to the tyranny of Britain. He first distinguished himself when Commodore Barclay, and Majors Maitland and Grant, came in force, in 1776, against Savannah, being one of a party of nine, who, under command of Captain Bowen, after the detention of a flag sent by the patriots, and the discharge of a volley by the enemy, boarded and set fire to a merchant vessel, that drifted against and caused the precipitate abandonment of others held by British troops, in the river immediately opposite the town. In the same year, he was a volunteer in an attack, conducted by Colonel Baker, upon Tybee island, where some houses were occupied by armed men from hostile vessels of war that lay in the river, and drew fresh supplies from herds of cattle upon it. The buildings were destroyed, and the enemy driven to their ships. For gallant conduct on this occasion, he was honored with the thanks

of Governor Bulloch. Public regard was now so strongly attracted to the youthful soldier, that a company of light infantry was organized and placed under his orders. He continued to direct it until the fatal Florida expedition under General Howe, when he resigned, and had conferred upon him the appointment of brigade-major of the Georgia militia. In this capacity, he was in many skirmishes with the enemy, then advancing towards Savannah from the south; particularly in one in which the brave General Scriven was killed, and in which he received a wound in the ankle. After the fall of Savannah, on the 29th December, 1778, in the defence of which he had participated against the superior forces of Lieut. Colonel Campbell, the Georgians were reduced to the utmost misery. Their property was confiscated, their families were brought to poverty, their most venerable citizens were crowded on board of prison ships, and cruelties were inflicted unbecoming the most barbarous foe. The greater number of the state troops and organized militia having been, in the assault, killed or taken prisoners, and there being no longer a field in Georgia for his exertions, Major JACKSON crossed the Savannah river, to aid the whigs of Carolina. Barefoot and penniless, friendless and unknown, but resolute and sanguine, he joined General Moultrie's command, marching as a common soldier, and active in the engagements that ensued. It was his singular misfortune before he had reached the army, so wretched was his appearance, to have his character as an American officer denied, to be apprehended as a spy by a party of whigs whom he went to succor, condemned to execution, and saved from the gibbet only by the timely arrival of Peter Deveaux, a gentleman of reputation, afterwards a member of the executive council of Georgia.

In October, 1779, Major JACKSON served again in Georgia, in the unsuccessful assault upon Savannah by General Lincoln and Count d'Estaing. In March, 1780, he, unhappily, was the antagonist of Lieut. Governor Wells in a duel, which terminated fatally to the latter gentleman. The major was shot through both knees; and, confined by his wounds for months, refusing amputation, and abandoned by his surgeons, was prevented from taking part in the military operations of the spring of 1780. Here, justice to the major requires the declaration, that, although he was forced into this difficulty by a gross personal indignity, which his honor as an officer, and the spirit of the period, compelled him to resent, and although he had done nothing wherewith to reproach himself, yet he ever afterwards deeply lamented the dreadful catastrophe. He was no duellist from principle: he abhorred the practice. It was his lot on several other occasions in subsequent

life to be similarly involved; but he went always to the place of contest without preparation, with no vindictive passion, confiding in the rectitude of his cause, and convinced that duty to his country demanded the exposure of his person.

In August, 1780, Major JACKSON repaired to Colonel Elijah Clarke's camp of Georgians. He was in the celebrated battle of Blackstocks, under General Sumter, in South Carolina. When the gallant Sumter was wounded, the command devolved upon Colonel Twiggs, of Georgia, the senior officer present. At the close of the encounter, the major was despatched with a body of cavalry in pursuit of Colonel Tarleton, whom he vigorously pressed, and from whom he captured and brought off thirty horses. No disparagement of the veteran Sumter, nor of the patriotic sons of Carolina, is intended: true valor is never envious of the military laurels of others: let it therefore be as readily conceded, as it is firmly insisted, that the conduct of the Georgians in that memorable engagement contributed greatly to the success of the day. History has given them but little credit here; and history has been equally unjust to them, when treating of many other events in which their valor was signalized. Indeed, throughout the war, in the three most southern states, they were always found in scenes of the greatest peril, ever prompt to hazard their lives for the general good. Georgia rightfully boasts of many brilliant and valiant names —they should be rescued from oblivion: especially should the memories of Twiggs and of Clarke be respected by one who would faithfully recount the story of the revolution. They were among the bravest of the brave—officers of skill and unceasing enterprise, to whom American liberty is indebted for a thousand noble deeds. Such was the confidence reposed in Major JACKSON at this time, that, after the battle of Long-Cane, in which Colonel Clarke was disabled, the major, more than once, saved his command from total dispersion. Of impassioned eloquence and the highest powers for declamation, he frequently addressed the troops, setting before them in glowing terms the wrongs of their country, and arousing them to acts of patriotic effort. The affection of the Georgians for his person was, we are assured, also felt by the Carolinians, who were well pleased when he was in charge of parties, or acted, as he often did, as major of brigade to the united combatants of the two states.

Early in 1781, General Pickens, who properly conceived himself justified by Lord Cornwallis's proclamation, and by British outrage, in breaking his parole, was intrusted with the command of the Carolina and Georgia militia attached to General Morgan's army. Major

JACKSON was his brigade-major. Is it too late for a magnanimous and grateful people to acknowledge meritorious service, although that service may not, heretofore, have been fully recorded by the annalist? May not the author of this memoir, acutely feeling for the honor of his native state, and justly alive to the reputation of Major JACKSON, confidently hope, that even now, an achievement of high chivalry may be admitted, if satisfactory evidence be adduced? It is asserted, then, upon the authority of General Pickens, whose certificate, dated 6th February, 1787, is in the writer's possession, which was published in the gazettes of the south at a period when Major, then General, JACKSON's enemies were striving to overthrow him; which was given voluntarily, and never contradicted; published, too, during the lives of General Pickens, and of the principal continental and militia officers who fought at the Cowpens: that Major JACKSON, "by his example, and firm, active conduct," did much "to animate the troops, and insure the success" of the Americans; that "it was owing to accident, or mistake, that his name was not returned to congress, as one of the officers who particularly signalized themselves at the Cowpens;" and that "the major, in the face of the whole army, ran the utmost risk of his life in seizing the colors of the 71st British regiment, and afterwards introducing Major M'Arthur, commanding officer of the British infantry, as a prisoner of war to General Morgan." After this, the major was at the crossing of the Catawba by Lord Cornwallis. He narrowly escaped the sabres of Tarleton, while endeavoring to rally and form the discomfited militia surprised by that officer at Tennant's tavern. He was with General Pickens and Colonel Lee, when Pyle's corps was destroyed on Haw river. It was his fortune to be engaged frequently and conspicuously, and to gain the approbation of General Greene, to whom he was introduced at Salisbury by General Morgan; and who then determined to place under his direction a legionary corps, as soon as one could be raised for the service in Georgia.

Colonel Baker having undertaken an expedition against Augusta, Major JACKSON considered it his duty to abandon the main southern army, and return to the state whose commission he bore. The intervening country was almost wholly hostile: but he surmounted every difficulty, joined Baker, and was immediately ordered to recross the Savannah, and imbody a force in Carolina. Having succeeded in collecting two hundred and fifty men, who were committed to the charge of Colonel Hammond, he returned to the camp, from which Colonel Baker, in disgust, had retired. Colonel Williamson, who succeeded Baker, had also withdrawn. General Pickens and Colonel

Lee were yet with General Greene. This was the hour on which depended the future capture of Augusta. Had the Georgians then abandoned the field, Colonel Brown, the British commander, might have been secure against all future enterprise. The major assumed the command. His talent for extemporaneous elocution was again called into exercise. He, on horseback, depicted to the dispirited patriots "the miseries they had endured, and the cruelties that had been perpetrated by Brown and Grierson; cruelties which their dispersion would only tend to renew. That vengeance was within their reach. That to give up the opportunity of obtaining it, was giving up their pretensions to the character of good soldiers; was sacrificing their feelings and duties as citizens, sons, fathers, and husbands." A resolution to conquer, or die, was proclaimed by the brave men whom he addressed. Operations were forthwith commenced anew, against the garrison. The major had prepared fascines, mounted a nine-pounder, and was ready to break ground against Grierson's fort, when Colonel Clarke arriving, superseded him. General Pickens and Colonel Lee appeared afterwards, and Augusta fell. The certificate by General Pickens, to which reference has already been made, also makes known, that, at Augusta, "Major JACKSON's exertions in the early period of the siege, laid the ground work for the reduction of that place. He led one of the advanced parties, as Captain Rudolph did another, at the storming of Grierson's fort; and had the command of a moving battery at the time of the surrender of fort George, in which he conducted with honor to himself and his country."

In conformity with his resolution, taken during the campaign in North Carolina, General Greene now gave to Major JACKSON a commission for a partisan legion, confirmed by congress in 1781. This he enlisted in a few days. Appointed commandant at Augusta, he maintained his post, notwithstanding Lord Rawdon's march, General Greene's retreat from Ninety-Six, his being entirely separated from the American forces, and encompassed by hostile troops. A more dangerous enemy than the British bayonet, arose in the heart of his camp. Treason presented its front, excited by emissaries from Savannah. His infantry became disaffected, and his own quarter-guard, with others, were engaged to murder the colonel in his bed, bayonet the principal officers, and, seizing the governor of Georgia, conduct him a prisoner to the enemy. Information of this plot was given to Colonel JACKSON by an honest dragoon. His cavalry were forthwith drawn out, the infantry paraded without arms, a charge upon them made by the dragoons, and the ringleaders arrested, tried, condemned, and exe-

cuted. This rigid discipline produced the happiest effect; his infantry, in which alone disaffection had existed, behaving afterwards, in many engagements, with fidelity and consummate bravery. Savannah remaining in possession of the British, the legion was detailed by General Twiggs, to operate in its vicinity. A statement of the various skirmishes in which it acted, would be prolix and unprofitable. With it, the colonel attacked a post on the Ogeechee, which surrendered: but one of the officers being slain by an American, its garrison resumed their arms, and the enterprise was defeated. On the same day, he assaulted another, held by royal militia, and killed or captured them almost to a man; and was himself, in the afternoon, charged by the entire force of British cavalry from Savannah, led by Colonel Campbell in person; whom, with inferior numbers, he fought with desperation, destroying or disabling as many of the foe as he had himself men engaged in action. When General Anthony Wayne assumed the direction of affairs in Georgia, Colonel JACKSON joined him at Ebenezer. The legion was, in general orders, designated as the advance corps of the army. In this hazardous service, the colonel was employed until the reduction of Savannah; experiencing, for six months, every embarrassment which such a situation could produce in a destroyed, swampy, and pestilential country, fifteen miles in advance of the main body, exposed to continual incursions from the enemy, with not a hovel to cover a corps, already in rags, from the vicissitudes of the weather. He very often pursued parties of hostile cavalry to the fortifications of Savannah, and picked off men and horses from the town commons: destroyed a magazine of rice, stored for the British garrison, within reach of their cannon; passing through an encampment of diseased tories, who had exhibited no mercy for the patriots, but whom he humanely spared: drew the enemy into ambuscades, from which they greatly suffered; and was prominent in the battle of May, 1782, between General Wayne and Colonel Brown. His last engagement, and the last in Georgia between the troops of the two countries, was fought on Skidaway island, on the 25th July. On the 11th of the same month, "in consideration of his severe and fatiguing service in the advance," as General Wayne was pleased to say, the keys of Savannah had been, by the general's order, delivered by a committee of British officers to the colonel, who was the first American soldier to tread the soil of a town, from which, the arms of a tyrant had too long kept its lawful possessors.

Closing here our recital of Colonel JACKSON'S revolutionary acts, it may be admissible to express our admiration of that zealous patriotism

and gallant bearing, which, in seven years, elevated a boy without a shilling, an emigrant without connections, and with little patronage, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the service of his adopted country; honored with the friendship of Sumter, Pickens, Morgan, Wayne, and Greene, and possessed of the affection and confidence of that people, whose destinies he had crossed the Atlantic to share—the people of the sovereign state of Georgia. Her legislature, on the 30th July, 1782, unanimously voted, that he had "rendered many great and useful services" to America; and presented to him a house and lot in Savannah, "as a mark of the sense entertained of his merits."

The profession to which Colonel JACKSON's early studies had been directed, demanded his unremitting attention. Assisted by the advice of George Walton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, he was soon admitted to its honors and emoluments. In 1785, the claims of a family were added to his other motives for exertion. In that year, he was married to Mary Charlotte Young, daughter of William Young, a deceased patriot, who had been among the foremost to raise the standard of freedom. But the bar presented a field too limited for his active mind. He sought political advancement. By the people of Chatham county, he was sent several years, successively, to the state legislature. Early after his entering upon political life, the benignity of his heart impelled him to support enactments, by which certain obnoxious individuals were relieved from the acts of confiscation and banishment. But for his influence, they might never have returned to America, nor recovered a dollar of their estates. The ingratitude of our nature was glaringly exhibited in the subsequent conduct of many of these pardoned men, who were, throughout the life of Colonel JACKSON, his most bitter and uncompromising foes. And the grovelling, calculating baseness of that nature, was manifested in an offer made for his support by one, who tendered a direct bribe, which was indignantly rejected.

In 1786, he was made a brigadier general, and an honorary member of the Cincinnati society. On the 7th January, 1788, at the age of thirty years, he was elected governor of Georgia, which office he modestly declined, declaring that neither his age, nor experience, would justify acceptance. As brigadier general, however, he proved his readiness to serve his country by actively directing, in person, military operations for the defence of the counties on the seaboard, harassed by predatory and murderous bands of Creek Indians. After ratification by Georgia of the federal constitution, he was, in 1789, chosen to represent her eastern district in the first congress held under

that sacred instrument. In many of the most important debates, now referred to as exhibiting an authoritative exposition by that body of the principles of the constitution, General JACKSON engaged. In 1791, his great and sincerely respected friend, General Wayne, who had become a citizen of Georgia, and possessed, very justly, the veneration of her people, was induced, doubtless with honest purposes in himself, yet certainly, perhaps unconsciously, by the instigations of General JACKSON's adversaries, to become, in opposition, a candidate for the same district. An animated contest was waged before the people. General Wayne was returned. General JACKSON presented himself before the house of representatives in February, 1792, contested the return, personally conducted his claim to the seat, and obtained a decision, awarded without a dissenting voice, that General Wayne was not entitled to retain it. The house refused, by the casting vote of the speaker, to declare General JACKSON elected. The concluding speech of General JACKSON is represented, in a published statement of that contested election, one of the first under the present constitution, to have been a display of brilliant oratory, followed by long continued applause. "With these sentiments, Mr. Speaker," said he, in closing, "I submit the facts I have brought forward to the house; and with them I commit the rights of myself, the rights of the state of Georgia, and, I had almost said, the rights of the United States, to their decision; and I beg leave to repeat, that A FREE REPRESENTATION was what we fought for, A FREE REPRESENTATION was what we obtained, A FREE REPRESENTATION is what our CHILDREN should be taught to LISP, and our YOUTHS to relinquish only with their LIVES." Charging against General Wayne, for whose character and services he had profound respect, no improper conduct; he did not hesitate to drive home against his own enemies accusations of the blackest corruption at the polls. His charge was sustained by the legislature of Georgia, who, in December 1791, investigated the conduct of a judge of her superior courts in connection with that election; General JACKSON then a member of the house and of the impeaching committee. The house unanimously impeached, the senate unanimously convicted, and the judge was sentenced to loss of office, and disqualification for thirty years.

In December, 1792, when again a member of the legislature, General JACKSON, jealous, like other statesmen, of the jurisdiction assumed by the supreme court in the case of Chisholm against the state of Georgia, and believing that, were such jurisdiction permitted, the retained sovereignty of the states would be lost, introduced resolutions

which, sustained by the legislature, called for, and, in part, produced the eleventh amendment of the federal constitution. In this year, he was elected a major general; and was again, in the next, employed on the frontiers in repressing the violence of our savage foes. In 1793, 1794, and 1795, he was a senator in congress. Recalled by his fellow citizens, who (inflamed almost to madness, and discerning around them, in every quarter, their rights trampled upon by men of highest character,) passed resolutions in their primary county meetings demanding his aid at home, he resigned his honorable station, and immediately embarked all the faculties of his mind, all the firmness of his nature, and all the reputation he had acquired, in indefatigable exertions to effect a repeal of the act by which Georgia had sold to companies of speculators millions of acres of her western territory. To recall the memory of her degradation, to assist in extending remembrance of her shame, can give no satisfaction to her sons. The biographer approaches the subject with loathing, impelled to it by the obligations he has assumed. His painful duty will be comparatively light, if he can convince himself that his succinct presentation of the speculation shall have the least effect in fastening upon the minds of the American people the belief, that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance;" and in convincing them that, whilst a just confidence is given to their public servants, they should be watched with eyes that never sleep. A majority of the Georgia legislature had been bribed by promises of shares —some by certificates of shares, for which they were never to pay— others by expectations of slave property. The foulest treason had been perpetrated, under the guise of legislation. Citizens of the most exalted standing from several states, some of them high public functionaries: one a senator from Georgia, whose duty required him to have been at his post in congress; others judges, generals, revolutionary characters, whose popularity and past services made them more dangerous, and served ultimately to heap degradation upon their heads, had attended at Augusta, in January 1795, and executed their unhallowed purpose. Georgia had been robbed of her domain—her own lawgivers corrupted and consenting—and an indelible stigma fixed upon her fame, her own children blackening her escutcheon. The full iniquity of this nefarious legislation—if usurpation can be denominated legislation—was exposed by General Jackson in a series of letters addressed to the people under the signature of "*Sicilius*." At the following session he was a member. The all-absorbing subject, with the petitions, remonstrances, memorials, and other proceedings of the people, was referred to a committee of which he was chairman

Testimony was taken upon oath, which established deep and incontrovertible guilt. The rescinding law was passed. It was drawn and reported by General JACKSON, and adopted as it came from his pen. The merits of this latter act—its constitutionality—its consistency with republican principles—its necessity—its justice—have all been freely and ably discussed in our country, in private circles, in pamphlets, in the public gazettes, in the congress of the union, in the supreme court. The decision of the country, perhaps, has been against the power of the rescinding legislature, so far as innocent purchasers under the fraudulent grants were interested; but, whether constitutional or not, nothing is more certain than that the honest of every section of the United States: all who detest corruption, admire virtue, and regard an honest representation as the bulwark of the public liberties, have considered its action upon the Yazoo speculation as pure, and its motives patriotic. The citizens of Georgia, especially, have held in horror and detestation the authors and abettors of her humiliation; and have consecrated with their best affections the memories of those who were faithful to the state. The Yazoo Act repealed, every vestige and memorial of its passage expunged from the public records, and burnt with all the ceremony and circumstance which popular indignation demanded, the popularity of General JACKSON became unrivalled. But his happiness, and that of his family, were destroyed. By resistance to the speculation, the number of his adversaries was vastly augmented. Aristocratic pride had been humbled, venality had been exposed, visionary fortunes had been prostrated, principalities had been lost. His person was repeatedly attacked; his life was often in imminent danger; and his reputation was assailed with unrelenting calumnies, from one end of the United States to another, wherever purchasers and sub-purchasers resided, which pursued him to the grave.

General JACKSON was, in 1798, a member of the convention that formed the present constitution of Georgia. Much, if not the greater part, of this instrument was prepared by him. He was governor from January 1798 to March 1801. His administration was remarkable for efforts to effect a cession of the territory now embraced within the states of Alabama and Mississippi; for exertions in behalf of the university of Georgia, which commenced operations under the venerable Josiah Meigs in 1801; and for the cordial support he gave to the republican party, in opposition to the policy of President John Adams. In December, 1801, he resumed his station in the senate of the United States. In 1802, he signed, as a commissioner of Georgia, jointly

with Abraham Baldwin and John Milledge, articles of cession, by which Georgia yielded her territory west of the Chattahoochee. In 1803, certain charges of corruption in office when governor, relating to the Yazoo deposite, were preferred against him by one Zachariah Cox. These, together with documents in support, were referred by the general assembly of Georgia to a select committee; and the spectacle was presented of a grave inquiry instituted into the official conduct of a citizen, charged with accepting a douceur, when at the head of the state, who, within a short period previous, had stemmed, with indomitable courage and unshaken virtue, a torrent of the vilest iniquity; and had contemptuously rejected overtures, the acceptance of which might have imparted princely wealth to himself and his posterity. A resolution was reported, and adopted by both branches, no one dissenting, that General JACKSON "had been vilified by the said Zachariah COX; that his conduct was, during his administration, characterized with honesty and disinterestedness;" and that "his reputation stands too high in the opinion of this legislature, and his fellow-citizens at large, to be affected by any malicious insinuations or assertions whatsoever."

General JACKSON was a member of the senate until March, 1806. In his career in that exalted body, he was perfectly independent. He supported the administration of Mr. Jefferson only so far as he deemed it correct, opposing its measures when his judgment so directed, and declaring, in the judiciary debate in 1802, that "as a political man, he was no more for Thomas Jefferson than he was for John Adams. When he acts according to my opinion right, I will support him; when wrong, oppose him—and I trust a majority on this floor will always act in the same way." The station of president, pro tempore, was tendered to him: but he declined it, preferring to be on the floor, always ready to resist the claims of the grantees and purchasers under the rescinded Georgia grants, to a large portion of which claims he made opposition ending only with his last gasp. He died on the 19th March, 1806. Interred four miles from Washington, his remains have lately been removed to the congressional burial yard. John Randolph of Roanoke, his personal friend and political admirer, wrote the inscription on the tablet which covers them. Mr. Randolph had in youth been inflamed with a high respect for his lofty public integrity; was five years in congress with him, where a personal attachment was contracted; and is understood to have said that his own life had, in some degree, its model in his. Hence, perhaps, connected with his own abhorrence of every thing vile, proceeded Mr. Randolph's invin-

cible hostility to the Yazoo claims. Georgia has sought to perpetuate General JACKSON's name, and services, by giving the first to a county, and by expressions of her sense of the last in her legislative resolutions. Her gratitude was merited. If there was a passion stronger than all others in the heart of General JACKSON, that was devotion to her service. She was the earthly object of his adoration. For her, and in her service, he surrendered all hope of federal distinction and federal advantages, which his revolutionary deeds, his civil life, his early congressional displays, his acknowledged talents, his admitted abilities for public usefulness, might have led him to expect. Whilst, with enlarged patriotism, he frequently affirmed that the proudest title known to man was that of "an American citizen," and warmly cherished the union of the states, and the constitution adopted by the sages and fathers of the revolution; he yet regarded Georgia, emphatically as *his country*, and as such, congratulated her in debate in the senate in 1803. Time has passed away, and with it the bitterness of hostility. Prejudice and passion have passed, and truth and justice have sway. Whatever may be the violence and conflicts of contending parties; however, occasionally, authority may be claimed for opposing doctrines: in General JACKSON's acts and principles it is conceded by all in Georgia, that never had the Union a more patriotic citizen, never Georgia a more resolute soldier, a more intelligent statesman, a more devoted servant

RICHARD DALE.

JUSTICE has not been done to the naval heroes of our revolution. Some of the most patriotic spirits of that eventful period, employed their noblest energies, in maintaining on the ocean, the interests and the honor of their country. The glory of their achievements was enhanced by the circumstance, that with means feeble, inadequate and uncertain, they contended against the highest naval reputation, the best appointed forces, and the most exact state of discipline. Though the fitting memorial has never yet been inscribed, it shall not be for want of the becoming disposition or the requisite exertions, if our work does not to a considerable extent, rescue from oblivion, those occurrences worthy of remembrance and praise, which belong to this portion of our nation's annals.

RICHARD DALE was born on the 6th day of November, 1756, in Norfolk county, Virginia. He was descended from a highly respectable family. His parents were both natives of Virginia. His father left five children, of whom RICHARD was the eldest. Having manifested a strong predilection for the sea, RICHARD was allowed, at twelve years of age, to enter on board a vessel commanded by his uncle, with whom he made a voyage to Liverpool and back. Subsequently, he made several voyages to the West Indies, and in 1775, when nineteen years of age, was chief officer of a valuable brig. He had early and various experience of the hazards of a sailor's life. Among other mishaps, he was on one occasion knocked overboard by the jib sheets, in the night, and after being several hours in the water, with no aid but such as a hencoop afforded, was with much difficulty, after day-light, rescued by his own vessel. He remained in the merchant service till the spring of 1776. The revolutionary fervor was now excited. The best of the youthful blood of the land was roused. Our young sailor is accordingly presented to us early in 1776, as a lieutenant of a vessel of war belonging to Virginia. While on public duty in James river, in a small craft, he was captured by a tender of

a Liverpool frigate; he was carried to Norfolk, put on board a prison-ship, and confined there for several weeks.

It was in the summer of 1776, however, that he commenced his career as an officer of the United States navy, in the character of a midshipman on board of the brig Lexington, Captain John Barry. A rapid review of some of the incidents of this portion of his life, will exhibit him, though but a youth, and then in subordinate stations, as eminently entitled to distinction, for able seamanship, dauntless courage, ardent love of country, perilous adventure, bold and daring exploits, and the sufferings and anxieties of wounds and captivity.

The Lexington sailed in the autumn of 1776, for Cape François, and a cruise, under the orders of Captain Hallock, the gallant Barry having been appointed to the command of a frigate. In December, 1776, the Lexington was captured by the Liverpool frigate off the capes of Virginia. In consequence of a sudden gale, the captors could take out only the captain and five of the crew, DALE, then acting as master's mate, being one of the number. The officers and crew who remained on board, retook the brig, and carried her to Baltimore. DALE was landed with some of his fellow prisoners, at Cape Henlopen, in January, 1777. He immediately repaired to Philadelphia, where he was ordered to join the Lexington again, now commanded by Captain Henry Johnson. His vessel proceeded to Bordeaux with despatches, having made a short passage and taken many valuable prizes. At Nantes, she joined a small squadron, consisting of the ship Reprisal of sixteen guns, Captain Wicks, and a cutter of ten four pounders, Captain Samuel Nicholson. These three vessels under the orders of Captain Wicks, sailed on a cruise in May, 1777, took and sunk many prizes, and did great injury to the coasting trade of the British Islands. After a narrow escape from an English seventy-four, they reached French ports.

The Lexington sailed from Morlaix for the United States, in September, 1777. On the 19th of that month, she encountered an English cutter of superior force. Some of the higher officers employed by congress in the naval service, were without the kind of experience which alone confers that knowledge of the discipline of a man of war, which is indispensable to success in battle. This deficiency was severely felt in the early part of this engagement. When the cutter commenced her fire, not a match was ready on board of the Lexington. DALE was one of her youngest officers, and could not have interfered. For some time the guns were fired by means of the muskets. When, however, the preparations were completed, the action

became warm in the extreme. In a dead calm it was maintained for nearly two hours, with the most determined resolution on both sides. Nothing but the same undaunted heroism which is now the acknowledged characteristic of American seamen, could have sustained the Lexington under her manifold and heavy disadvantages. The capture of the enemy was hardly to be hoped for, and a breeze springing up, the American commander, having expended almost his last shot, availed himself of the opportunity to crowd sail and get off. In this he succeeded for a time. In a few hours, however, the cutter overtook him. The action was renewed with increased obstinacy. Having used not only every shot, but all the iron and other articles which could be employed as a substitute for shot, the brig being reduced to a wreck, a large portion of the officers and many of the men killed, and many more severely wounded, the demands of honor all nobly satisfied, nothing remained but to spare the lives of the gallant survivors by acknowledging a conquest which belonged to the superior force of the enemy.

The cutter's advantage consisted not only in her full and complete equipments, but in the fact, that her crew was composed entirely of picked men. Few of the Lexington's officers or crew had ever been in an engagement. This hard fought and protracted battle, notwithstanding its issue, will therefore be regarded as reflecting credit on the American name. The good conduct of DALE was conspicuous throughout. He displayed the same admirable qualities which under better auspices subsequently led to victory and renown.

Captivity again awaited him. He not only suffered the mortification of being rendered useless to his country at a most momentous crisis, but was exposed in common with his fellow-prisoners to the indignity of treatment which was thought to be due to *rebels*. The contumely with which, on this and other occasions during the conflict, Americans in imprisonment were insulted, proved utterly impotent in regard to the object vainly expected from it. In invigorating patriotism, and strengthening the determination to resist oppression, it recoiled with tremendous power on the government which, to the disgrace of humanity, permitted it to be inflicted. After a rigorous examination at Plymouth, the surviving officers and crew of the Lexington were thrown into Mill prison, upon a charge of high treason. In this loathsome abode, their confinement for several months was unusual and cruel. Without uncontrovertible authority, we would not venture to make the assertion, that so scanty and miserable was the supply of food, the Americans to sustain life, actually seized

killed, and dressed a dog which accidentally found his way to them So atrocious was this severity, that the private judgment and sympathy of English gentlemen revolted at the public conduct of those who in this matter were allowed unworthily to wield the authority of the nation. The complaint becoming general respecting the treatment of the American prisoners, a committee was appointed to inquire into the matter. A large sum of money was raised by private subscription. The government, thus awakened, sanctioned a visit of the committee to the prison. The result was that provisions, clothing, and every thing that could alleviate their sufferings, were furnished to the Americans. This benevolence so pure and liberal, this philanthropy so disinterested and practical, is mentioned with peculiar gratification. Counteracting the abuses of public authority, it dignified and ennobled human nature, and deserves to be faithfully recorded for universal applause and imitation.

Though grateful for being thus rendered as comfortable as a state of confinement would permit, DALE and his companions could not forget that they were prisoners of war, and that their country had need of their services. Hearing of no opportunity of an early exchange, they determined on attempting an escape. The plan having been concerted, Captain Johnson, young DALE, and a number of others, effected their purpose in February, 1778. They had with great secrecy, but most tediously and under apprehension of daily discovery, worked a hole under the wall. Being obliged to get rid of the gravel and earth, they managed to do it by putting it into their pockets, and, during the few minutes occasionally allowed for exercise on the wall, adroitly emptying them. After wandering about for more than a week, encountering difficulties and privations, they, to avoid detection, divided their company and pursued different routes. DALE and a single companion, after a variety of adventures, reached London. At one time they were secreted under the straw of a small outhouse, belonging to a cottage, while their pursuers, who had tracked them to the neighborhood, actually made what they deemed a thorough search of the building. At London they immediately embarked on board a trading vessel bound to Dunkirk. On the same day, while at anchor waiting for a change of the tide, an officer with a press-gang came on board and arrested them on suspicion of being prisoners from Mill prison. After examination they were recommitted to that place. Privileges and indulgences which had been formerly extended, were now denied. Forty days of rigid confinement in a dungeon denominated with peculiar fitness, "the black hole" was a part of their reward

for exerting, without the violation of any of the laws of God or man, the sacred right of self-preservation. After being once released from the gloom and the misery of this subterraneous prison-house, DALE was again made to taste its tender mercies, for allowing a little of his patriotic enthusiasm to escape his lips, mingled with the melody of what were termed rebellious songs.

He was at last indebted to his own prompt sagacity and persevering boldness for his relief. In February, 1779, after more than a year's captivity, imbittered as we have seen it was, he again escaped. He accomplished this by walking out of prison in the full uniform of a British officer, the guard having no suspicion of the truth, till DALE was enabled to elude pursuit. How he obtained this uniform remained a secret. He repaired without delay to London, and, by fortunate management and address, procured a passport to go to France. In a short time he arrived at L'Orient, where, with elate and buoyant spirit, he joined, in the character of master's mate, the renowned Paul Jones, then commanding the American ship "Bon Homme Richard."

This is a most interesting epoch in his life. He had hitherto contended with difficulties the most appalling, and adversities that would have subdued to despondency a mind less resolute and inflexible than his. He now beheld in the character of his commander a pledge of happier fortunes, and enjoyed in anticipation the brilliant career that awaited him.

After three months of constant employment in manning the Bon Homme Richard, in which great difficulty was experienced, DALE, at the age of twenty-two, was selected by the discriminating eye of Captain Jones to be his first lieutenant. How well he deserved the confidence thus bestowed, was abundantly demonstrated by the noble part which he took with his distinguished commander in a series of exploits, which for prowess and intrepidity surpass the fictions of poetry, and distance the marvels of romance.

The Bon Homme Richard sailed on a cruise in the summer of 1779, in company with the Alliance of thirty-six guns, the Pallas of thirty-wo, the Vengeance brig of sixteen, and two or three smaller vessels, all under the command of Commodore Paul Jones. They cruised with great success for a time, off the western coast of Ireland, when it was determined that the Bon Homme Richard, the Pallas, and the Vengeance, should proceed to the north. An armed ship of twenty guns and two or three fine cutters were understood to be in Leith Roads. The town of Leith being designated as the first object of

attack, every disposition was made for taking the guard-ship and cutters, and landing troops. The ransom of £200,000 which Jones proposed to levy, was considered by him "as a contribution towards the reimbursement which Britain owed to the much injured citizens of America." After working up to windward till they were, on the 17th September, almost within gun shot of the town, a sudden and very severe gale of wind arose, and, being directly ahead, obliged them to run down the firth, and go to sea, having in vain endeavored to withstand the violence of the storm. This attempt, so skilfully and daringly pursued till baffled by circumstances beyond human calculation or control, has often been the subject of comment; and the sensation it occasioned is hardly yet forgotten on the coast of Fife. A renewal of the enterprise was out of the question, the alarm having reached Edinburgh, only a mile or two distant, whence troops could have been readily procured. The cruise, however, was marked by the destruction and capture of many valuable vessels, and proved a most serious annoyance to the enemy's trade.

It was on the 23d of September, 1779, that the engagement took place between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis, an English frigate. We have space but for a few of the details of this battle, which was certainly one of the most interesting ever fought, and, as has often been remarked, has probably no parallel in the history of naval warfare. Properly to appreciate the splendid victory achieved by the American arms, we must keep in view the great superiority of the enemy in the strength and construction of his vessel, the number of guns, the weight of metal, and the amount and discipline of his crew. The vessels met off Flamborough head, on the north-east coast of England, about seven o'clock in the evening, under a bright moon, and in sight of multitudes who watched the engagement from the shore. When within half pistol shot, the Bon Homme Richard was hailed from the Serapis, and Lieutenant DALE received orders to commence the action with a whole broadside. The battle was continued with the utmost fury. In an effort of Jones to lay his ship athwart the enemy's bow, the bowsprit of the Serapis came over the Bon Homme Richard's poop by the mizen-mast. The ships were then made fast together. The action of the wind forced the Serapis' stern close to the Bon Homme Richard's bow, so that the ships lay square along side of each other, the yards being all entangled, and in the language of Jones "the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's." In an account furnished long afterwards by DALE, he remarks, "a novelty in naval combats was now presented. The rammers were

run into the respective ships, to enable the men to load;" he adds, "In this situation the ships remained until between ten and eleven o'clock, P. M., when the engagement terminated by the surrender of the Serapis."

In the hottest of the fight, the master-at-arms of the Bon Homme Richard, under a belief that she was sinking, let loose all the prisoners, several hundred in number, who being greatly terrified, occasioned extreme confusion. The carpenter, too, reported the water in the pump-well to be up to his chin. Lieutenant DALE was ordered down to the lower deck, to see how near the water was to the lower ports. To allay the excessive alarm, he reported that she had not settled much in the water. At this moment also the sentinels at the magazine, seeing many strange faces, barred all access to it. Lieutenant DALE went below to ascertain the cause of their withholding the powder. He now for the first time knew that the prisoners had been let out. Having put matters right, he returned to his post on the deck.

The flag of the Serapis, which had been nailed to the mast, was struck by Captain Pearson's own hand. Upon observing that she had struck, DALE asked for and obtained permission to board her. Jumping upon the gunwale, he seized the main brace, and swung himself upon her quarter deck; he was the first man on board. Midshipman Mayant followed with a party of men, and was immediately run through the thigh with a boarding pike by some of the enemy stationed in the waist who were not informed of the surrender. Captain Pearson was passed over to the deck of the Bon Homme Richard. DALE received orders to cut loose the lashing, and follow Jones with the Serapis. DALE now found to his astonishment, that he had the use of only one of his legs. A splinter had badly wounded him, but during the excitement of the contest he had not perceived it. He directed another officer to follow with the Serapis, and was taken on board the Bon Homme Richard to have his wound dressed.

The slaughter on board of each ship was dreadful. The Bon Homme Richard was so much shattered, that it was necessary to abandon her. The next day she sunk, her crew having been transferred to the Serapis. The rest of the squadron arrived in a few days at the Texel.

Jones now took command of the Alliance, and made a short cruise in her, DALE being with him. This cruise afforded a bold display of the most extraordinary seamanship. The Alliance passed along the Flemish banks, and getting to windward of the enemy's fleets of

observation in the North Sea, the next day passed through the straits of Dover in full view of the fleet in the Downs. On the succeeding day she sailed near the Isle of Wight in view of the British squadron at Spithead, and in two days more got safe through the Channel, having passed to windward in sight of several of the enemy's large two-decked cruising ships. In March, 1780, they arrived at L'Orient. Notwithstanding that Captain Landais, the former commander of the Alliance, a man whose eccentricity approached, if it did not amount to, insanity, had been ordered to America for trial, for certain insubordinate conduct, which we have not room to detail, but which, both before and after this, occasioned Jones much vexation; he contrived to secure the influence of some one or two of our public functionaries abroad, who were not well disposed towards Jones; and, by means which Jones deemed unfair and illegal, regained, during his temporary absence, the command of the ship. DALE scornfully rejected Landais' proposal that he should join him; and not only adhered to his commander, but with the ardor of youthful indignation, offered to attempt a recovery of the vessel at the hazard of his life. Public considerations, however, induced Jones to prevent the serious consequences that would have resulted from such a step.

DALE returned to America in the Ariel, a twenty-gun ship commanded by Jones. During the voyage they had an encounter with the British armed ship Triumph, of twenty guns. After sustaining for a short time the vigorous fire of the Ariel's battery and tops, the Triumph struck her colors. This short cruise was full of hazardous incident. Before the battle, while they were off Penmarque rocks, a terrible ledge between L'Orient and Brest, a violent gale reduced them to such extremity of distress, that they were obliged to return to port under jury masts to refit. It was of this storm that Jones declared in one of his letters, that "till that night he did not fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest and shipwreck." To Dr. Franklin he wrote: "I owe the warmest thanks to the spirited and unremitting assistance of my officers, who behaved with a steady, composed courage, that does them the highest honor." Another cause of ceaseless anxiety was the heterogeneous character of a crew which had been shipped abroad with much difficulty. The detection of a conspiracy among a part of it, exacted unwearied vigilance. All the officers, and even the passengers, were constantly armed. The Ariel reached Philadelphia in February, 1781.

On the 14th of April, 1781, the thanks of congress were voted to Captain Jones, for "good conduct and eminent services," and to Lieu-

tenant DALE and his other associates, "for their steady affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they had manifested therein."

In the spring of 1781, DALE was most usefully employed with two public schooners in Delaware Bay, in successfully convoying the public stores to Philadelphia, and dispersing the marauding refugees who aimed at intercepting those supplies.

His services with Jones now closed. That extraordinary man and distinguished commander being at this period appointed to the charge of a seventy-four, then on the stocks to the northward, manifested his elevated opinion of his thoroughly-tried companion, by soliciting him to become again his first lieutenant. This proposal was declined by DALE, only from an apprehension, which proved well founded, that a long period of comparative inactivity would elapse before the ship could be got ready for sea.

In July of this year, DALE sailed from the capes of Delaware as lieutenant of the Trumbull frigate, Captain James Nicholson; when at sea but a few hours, they fell in with a British frigate and sloop of war. After a severe engagement in a dark and stormy night, the Trumbull, having been crippled by the gale, was compelled to strike her flag to a force so vastly superior. Lieutenant DALE was severely wounded in this rencounter. In a short time he was put on Long Island, a prisoner on parole: he was soon afterwards exchanged, and in November, 1781, returned to Philadelphia.

The government had now no occasion for his services. He accordingly obtained the command of a large merchant ship, "The Queen of France," mounting twelve six pounders, and sailed for L'Orient in the spring of 1782. On the passage he had a spirited conflict with a British privateer of fourteen guns, and succeeded in beating her off, both vessels sustaining very heavy damage. Captain DALE returned to Philadelphia in February, 1783.

Upon the conclusion of the peace, no provision being made for the navy or its gallant officers, Captain DALE turned his attention to commercial pursuits. In December, 1783, he sailed for London in command of a large ship in which he had become interested. From this period, until 1794, he was engaged in a lucrative East India business, several times making the voyage himself, in some of the finest ships of the day. In 1791, he married.

In 1794, he was selected by President Washington to be one of the six captains of the naval establishment, for which provision had just been made. He was the fourth in rank. He was appointed to super-

intend the construction of a large frigate at Norfolk. The government, however, having deferred building her, he obtained a furlough, and continued industriously engaged in the Canton trade, till 1798. At this period war with France was generally expected, and the government purchased several large vessels to be converted into ships of war. One of these, the Ganges, was assigned to Captain DALE, who had recently commanded her as a merchant-ship. After she was equipped for service, some misunderstanding arose with respect to rank. DALE obtained a furlough until the matter could be adjusted. On his return to Philadelphia in April, 1800, from a Canton voyage, he was happy to find the point of rank settled to his entire satisfaction. He now received orders to hold himself ready for important service, and in May, 1801, was appointed to command the squadron of observation, about to sail from Hampton roads to the Mediterranean.

Having hoisted his broad pendant on board the President, he sailed on the 1st of June, with the squadron, consisting of the President frigate, Captain James Barron, the Philadelphia frigate, Captain Samuel Barron, the Essex frigate, Captain William Bainbridge, and the schooner Enterprise, Lieutenant Andrew Sterrett. He found lying at Gibraltar, the High Admiral of Tripoli with a ship of twenty-six guns and two hundred and sixty men, and a brig of sixteen guns and one hundred and sixty men. These vessels had arrived only the day before. Although the admiral disclaimed any knowledge of hostile views on the part of the Bey his master, yet Commodore DALE formed and acted upon the opinion that he designed to cruise against American vessels in the Western ocean. The Philadelphia was accordingly ordered to lie off and on Gibraltar, to watch the Tripolitan, and if he ventured out, to capture him. In despair of eluding this vigilance, the admiral soon dismantled his ships, and discharged his crews. Authentic information obtained in the Mediterranean, placed beyond doubt, the hostile intentions of the Bey, and confirmed the propriety and value of the determination of the American commander.

A proper disposition having been made of the other vessels, with a view to the complete protection of the trade of his countrymen, the commodore repaired to Tripoli, and, after an unavailing correspondence with the Bey, kept up a strict blockade of the port. The arrival of this squadron in the Mediterranean was most opportune, as the Tripolitan corsairs had been directed to capture all American vessels. So efficient was the assistance afforded to the American trade, that not a single capture was made. In the summer of 1802, Commodore DALE arrived in Hampton roads.

Soundness of judgment, firmness of purpose, and sagacity of mind, were indispensable to the successful performance of this service. While the prevention of injury by a wily and treacherous power was a primary object of the expedition, it peculiarly belonged to the American commander to avoid the commission of any act of force, beyond the limits prescribed by the relative situation of his own nation. The obligation to blend a large portion of forbearance with the bold determination which marked the commodore's character, rendered the task one of delicacy and difficulty.

In this squadron and under the sailor-like accomplishments and thorough discipline of Commodore DALE, several of our gallant naval officers received their earliest instruction, and the noble stamp of seamanship which proved so true in the war of 1812.

In the fall of 1802, he received an order from the navy department, to hold himself in readiness to take command of the squadron which was to sail in the following spring for the Mediterranean. In the order he was informed that he could not have a captain under him in the flag ship as he had before. There were other officers not employed, whose ambition would have been gratified by the charge of this squadron. While DALE was therefore sensible of the honor conferred by the government, in thus selecting him a second time for the most important of our nava. commands, he was conscious that a great sacrifice of the honor of the navy and of his own just pride would be made by his returning to the station in a less dignified character than he had before enjoyed. Nothing existed in the situation of his country to require such an offering, and finding the difficulty was not to be removed, he resigned his commission. He had the less hesitation on the subject, as there were able officers anxious for the service to whom the objection did not apply.

He spent the rest of his days in Philadelphia, in the enjoyment of universal respect and confidence. Amiable and generous in the relations of private life, as he had been faithful and distinguished in his country's dangerous service, he won esteem by the dignity of his personal demeanor, the strength of his intellectual qualities, the uprightness and liberality of his views, the sincerity and value of his friendship, and the frankness of his hospitality.

In the war of 1812, he witnessed two gallant sons ardently pursuing fame in the path which he himself had trod. His gratification at the victories in which they both participated, was, however, mingled with a parent's sacred sorrow for the touching loss of the object of affectionate pride who bore his name. This noble youth died at Bermuda of

wounds received in the engagement between the President frigate and a British squadron.

There is one trait of Commodore DALE's character which must not be omitted. He himself deemed it of far more importance than all of regard and reverence which this world could confer. He was eminently a pious man. Deeply impressed with the solemn truths of religion, he, many years before his death, made an open profession of his holy faith, and entered into full communion with the Episcopal Church. This was the result of no sudden and transient impulse. When in full health, and surrounded by all of earth's advantages which could contribute to render his life one of happiness and pleasure, he reviewed for himself the evidences of Christianity, pondered upon its truths, felt its sacred influences, and deliberately made his decision. Such examples deserve commemoration. By their freedom from the suspicion of insincerity or impurity, they silence the prejudices of mere worldlings, and by their peculiar force and beauty, they attract to the contemplation of the things which belong to our eternal peace.

His latter days were marked with tranquil cheerfulness. In the bosom of a family that was most dear to him, he was blessed with

> "All that should accompany old age,
> As honor, love, obedience;"

and on the 24th day of February, 1826, having reached his seventieth year, in the humble hope of a joyful resurrection through the atoning merits of his Redeemer, he resigned his purified spirit into the hands of that God, who, through so many perils and temptations, had mercifully protected and preserved him.

WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

The rise and progress of the navy of the United States, may be distinctly traced in the lives of its distinguished captains. It sprung originally from the merchant service. The first armed vessels in the service were merchantmen hastily fitted out soon after the commencement of the revolution; their commanders were thorough-bred seamen, whose services were eminently useful to the cause of their country—much more so than they have ever had credited to them—and their actions ofttimes brilliant and worthy of commemoration. At the conclusion of the revolutionary war, many of our armed ships and their commanders again resumed their commercial character, and the American navy closed the first era of its history.

As our commerce extended and became an object of plunder to the belligerents of Europe and the freebooters of Africa, the necessity of affording it protection by a naval force became apparent, and the present navy of the United States began its existence; experienced officers were again recruited from the merchant service, some of whom are at the present day the pride of their country, and most of them have secured the records of their glory upon the brightest pages in our national archives. The subject of this notice was one of this class.

William Bainbridge was born at Princeton, New Jersey, on the 7th of May, 1774. He was the son of Dr. Absalom Bainbridge, a respectable physician of that town. His education was limited to the ordinary branches taught in an English school, and the rudiments of the French language.

He was placed in a counting-house in New York when sixteen years of age, but soon afterward went into the employment of a mercantile house in Philadelphia, and was sent to sea; in about two years after this, he was mate of the ship Hope, and on a voyage to Holland, saved the life of his captain who had been seized by a mutinous crew, with the intention of throwing him overboard. On his return home, he

was promoted, for his good conduct and abilities, to the command of a ship in the Dutch trade, and he continued in command of various ships until 1798.

In July of that year, hostilities having commenced with France, he received the offer of the command of the United States' schooner Retaliation, of fourteen guns, which he accepted, with the rank of lieutenant in the navy, and sailed with a small squadron under commodore Murray, on a cruise to the West Indies. In November of the same year, the Retaliation was captured by two French frigates and a lugger, and carried into Guadaloupe. Here he found several American vessels of great value detained, and their crews treated with great severity. The governor, General Desfourneaux, made great professions of friendship to the United States, and proposed that Lieutenant BAINBRIDGE should resume the command of his vessel, and return home. What design the governor had in making this proposition does not very clearly appear, but Lieutenant BAINBRIDGE appears to have believed it a scheme to get a national vessel and officer out of the way, with some other object than friendship; he, therefore, replied that he knew of no other light in which he could be regarded than either as a prisoner or entirely free. The governor insisted on his returning to the United States with his vessel and forty of his crew, and declared that if the Retaliation were again found cruising against the French, every American within his power should be put to the sword. Being obliged by force to resume the command of his vessel, of which Desfourneaux gave him a declaration, he returned home in company with two flags of truce in February, 1799.

He again sailed for the West Indies in the brig Norfolk, of eighteen guns, with the commission of master-commandant. During his cruise, he gave protection to the trade of our merchants, captured several of the enemy's merchantmen and a privateer, destroyed a number of barges, and compelled a privateer of sixteen guns to run ashore.

In 1800, he was promoted to the rank of a captain, and sailed in the frigate George Washington, with presents to the Dey of Algiers, according to the treaty then existing. At Algiers, he consented (though with great reluctance) to carry an ambassador with presents from the Dey to the Grand Seignior at Constantinople.

The arrival of an American frigate for the first time at Constantinople, caused a great sensation among the Turks, who were altogether unable to comprehend where the country was situated from which she came, or what flag they had to salute, but being informed that America was otherwise called the new world, they gave the captain a

cordial welcome, and he was treated with great respect by the Turkish authorities, and by the diplomatic corps at Pera.

The Algerine ambassador was, on the contrary, repelled with indignity by the capudan pacha, who spat and stamped upon his letters and refused the presents of his master, on account of his depredations on the commerce of nations in amity with the Porte, and also for having made peace with France without consulting the sultan.

Captain BAINBRIDGE, accompanied by Dr. Clarke, the celebrated traveller, and other distinguished foreigners, proceeded to the Black sea in his long-boat, where he had the pleasure of displaying "the star-spangled banner" for the first time. On his return, he gave an entertainment on board the frigate. The natives of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, sat down together at the same table, and were regaled with water, bread, fruit, and meat from the four quarters of the globe. This visit to Constantinople left a favorable impression of the American character, and opened the way to subsequent negotiations and more intimate relations.

On his return to Algiers with the secretary of the ambassador, war was immediately declared against France, and the French consul and citizens were ordered to leave the country in forty-eight hours. To save them from captivity, Captain BAINBRIDGE received them all on board his ship, and landed them at Alicant; he then returned home, and arrived at Philadelphia, in April, 1801. He returned to the Mediterranean in the following June, in the Essex frigate, to protect our commerce against the Tripolitans; he came home in July, 1802, and again sailed in July, 1803, to join the squadron under Commodore Preble. The frigate Philadelphia, which Captain BAINBRIDGE now commanded, had been built by the merchants of Philadelphia, and by them presented to the government.

On the 26th of August, off cape De Gatt, he fell in with a Moorish cruiser of twenty-two guns, in company with an American brig, which had been captured a few days before, and her captain and crew carried on board the ship, and there confined. This practical hostility was accounted for by the orders found on board, which proved the intention of the emperor of Morocco to let loose his forces against American commerce. On making the discovery, Captain BAINBRIDGE made prize of the ship, which he manned from the Philadelphia, and having pursued and recaptured the brig, he carried them to Gibraltar.

The loss of one of his finest vessels at the very commencement of his war-like speculation, convinced the emperor of its folly, and led to a

speedy and permanent peace. While Commodore Preble was engaged in negotiation, Captain BAINBRIDGE proceeded to blockade Tripoli with the Philadelphia and Vixen. Being informed that a Tripolitan cruiser had escaped from the port, the Vixen was ordered to cruise off cape Bon in quest of her. After her departure, the Philadelphia was driven from her cruising ground by strong westerly gales; but the wind coming round to the eastward, she was returning to her station, when a strange ship was discovered in shore and running for the harbor of Tripoli: the Philadelphia gave chase, and when about four miles and a half from the town, and going at the rate of six or seven knots, she ran upon a reef of rocks which were unknown to our navigators in that sea. This unfortunate event occurred on the morning of the 31st of October. Every exertion was made to float the ship by throwing overboard the guns and anchors, starting the water, and cutting away the foremast, but to no purpose. The gun-boats came out of the harbor and fired upon her, but so long as she kept an upright position, they were kept off by the few guns which could be brought to bear upon them. At length she turned upon her side, and could no longer be defended; the magazine was drowned, every article of value thrown overboard, the ship skuttled, the pumps choked, and all this being accomplished, the colors were struck at five o'clock in the afternoon. The officers and crew were plundered of every thing valuable on their persons before they reached the shore, but were afterward kindly treated by the pacha, until Decatur burnt the Philadelphia on the sixteenth of February, 1804, after which they were closely confined in the castle, through fear of their escape. On the 3d of February, 1805, they were liberated, a treaty having been concluded, by which the pacha was to receive the sum of sixty thousand dollars.

From this period till the commencement of the year 1812, Captain BAINBRIDGE was occasionally employed in the public service, and at other times, while on furlough, engaged in the merchant service, which was rendered necessary by the reduced state of his funds.

On the declaration of war in 1812, he had command of the navy-yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts, but soon after was appointed to the command of the Constellation frigate; he was thence transferred to the Constitution on the arrival of that ship at Boston, after the capture of the Guerriere.

He sailed in company with the sloop of war Hornet, Captain Lawrence, on a cruise to the East Indies. After parting with the Hornet, he was running down the coast of Brazil, when, on the 29th of

December, he fell in with the Java, a British frigate of forty-nine guns, commanded by Captain Lambert, with a full crew of more than four hundred men, and upwards of one hundred officers and men for ships on the East India station, together with Lieutenant-General Hislop and suite, of the British army.

The action commenced at the distance of half a mile, but the two ships gradually approached each other, until the jib-boom of the Java got foul of the Constitution's mizen rigging. The battle lasted nearly two hours, and only terminated when the last spar of the Java had gone by the board. The slaughter on board of this ship was dreadful. Her captain and sixty men were killed, and upwards of a hundred wounded.

The Constitution had nine killed and twenty-five wounded, among whom was the commodore himself.

As it was found impossible to bring the Java to the United States, the prisoners and baggage were removed to the Constitution in the only boat which remained between the two frigates; this service occupied two days, after which the wreck was blown up, and the Constitution put into St. Salvador, where the prisoners were set at liberty on parole, and had every article of their private property restored to them.

The kind attention which Commodore BAINBRIDGE paid to his prisoners, was gratefully acknowledged by them, and their letters to him added to the honor of his victory.

The original plan of the cruise having been thus interrupted, the Constitution returned to Boston.

Commodore BAINBRIDGE was received with enthusiastic welcome by his countrymen. The same crew had twice encountered the enemy with success, and congress granted fifty thousand dollars for each of the captured frigates.

The noble ship which had in so short a time destroyed two British frigates of the first class, became an object of national pride; and the names of her gallant captains are associated with every recollection of the steps by which our navy has *won* its way to universal favor. There are few ships in any navy, there are certainly none in our own, which have seen more service; and if there be at the present time any object in which our people feel an undivided interest, it is in this same Constitution, which, from the little damage she sustained in her numerous encounters, has acquired the popular *soubriquet* of "Old Ironsides."

At the conclusion of the war, Commodore BAINBRIDGE went to the

Mediterranean in command of the Columbus seventy-four, and this, we believe, was the last of his services at sea; he commanded at several of our naval stations, and was every where respected and esteemed, and acted for several years as one of the board of naval commissioners. Commodore BAINBRIDGE had been in infirm health for some years previous to his death, and while on a tour of inspection to the eastern states, was admonished by the increasing severity of his disease, that his voyage was nearly ended. With this impression, he returned to Philadelphia with the obvious desire to breathe his last in that city, and died on the 27th of July, 1833.

STEPHEN DECATUR.

STEPHEN DECATUR was born in the county of Worcester, upon the eastern shore of Maryland, on the 5th January, 1779. His father, Stephen Decatur, a native of Newport, Rhode Island, was a captain in the U. S. navy from its first establishment until the termination of our difficulties with the French republic, when he retired from the ocean. He died in Philadelphia, in 1808, honored and lamented.

His son, STEPHEN, entered the navy in 1798, as a midshipman on board the frigate United States, under the command of Com. Barry.

In 1801 he sailed as first lieutenant of the Essex, one of Commodore Dale's squadron, to the Mediterranean. He went out with the second expedition to the same station, as first lieutenant of the New York. At Malta he had a rencontre with a British officer, which terminated fatally; in consequence of which he was suspended, and sent home in the Chesapeake as a passenger. After his conduct in this affair had been investigated, he was appointed to the command of the brig Argus, and proceeded to join Commodore Preble's squadron, then lying before Tripoli. On his arrival there, he took command of the schooner Enterprise, in which he engaged and in a few minutes captured a Tripolitan ketch, within sight of the town. This little prize was afterward called the Intrepid.

Shortly after this, Lieutenant DECATUR conceived the daring project of recapturing or destroying the frigate Philadelphia, as she lay in the harbor of Tripoli. With great difficulty he obtained the commodore's sanction to his perilous enterprise; but having at last gained his consent, DECATUR manned the Intrepid with seventy volunteers, and accompanied by other young officers, all of whom have since acquired fame, he sailed from Syracuse on the 3d of February, 1804, in company with the United States' brig Syren, Lieutenant Stewart, who was to take off the men in his boats, in case it should be found necessary to use the Intrepid as a fire-ship.

After a tempestuous passage of a fortnight, they arrived off Tripoli towards evening. It had been arranged between lieutenants DECA-

TUR and Stewart, that the ketch and the boats of the Syren should enter the harbor about ten o'clock that night. The time arrived; but a change of wind had carried the Syren several miles to leeward, and DECATUR determined to take advantage of the wind which was then fair, and venture into the harbor without waiting for the boats.

The Philadelphia, with her guns mounted and loaded, was moored under the guns of the castle; two Tripolitan cruisers lay within two cables' length on her starboard quarter, and several gun-boats within half gun-shot on her starboard bow. The ketch carried her gallant crew within two hundred yards of the frigate, without interruption; they were then hailed, and ordered to anchor. A Maltese pilot, by DECATUR'S order, answered that they had lost their anchors in a gale of wind off the coast, and therefore could not anchor. By this time they had approached near the frigate, and were becalmed. Lieutenant DECATUR then directed a small boat to take a rope, and make it fast to the fore-chains of the frigate; this being accomplished, the crew began to warp the ketch alongside. Up to this moment the enemy had suspected no danger; but now, in great confusion, they began to prepare for defence. Before they were well aware of the character of their visiters, DECATUR had sprung on board, followed by midshipman Charles Morris. These two were nearly a minute on the deck before their companions joined them; fortunately the surprise was too sudden for advantage to be taken of the delay. The Turks crowded together on the quarter deck without attempting to repel the boarders, who, as soon as a sufficient number were assembled to form a front equal to their adversaries, rushed upon them and very soon cleared the deck. About twenty Turks were killed in the assault; the rest jumped overboard or fled below. He ordered the ship to be set on fire in several parts, and when certain of her destruction, the crew returned on board the ketch; a favorable breeze sprung up, and they sailed out of the harbor without the loss of a man, four only being wounded. For this gallant achievement, congress voted DECATUR their thanks and a sword; and he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, with the full approbation of the officers over whose heads he was raised.

The following spring Commodore Preble determined to make an attack on Tripoli; and having obtained the loan of some gun-boats and bombards from the king of Naples, he gave the command of one division of them to Captain DECATUR. These boats were manned by a mixed crew of Americans and Neapolitans, but the latter appear to have contributed little or nothing to the success of the day. The

signal to prepare for action was made from the commodore's ship, the Constitution, on the morning of the 3d of August; and at nine o'clock the squadron began to bombard the town, and the vessels in the harbor. The gun-boats, led on by DECATUR, advanced in a line to attack the Tripolitan gun-boats, which were moored along the mouth of the harbor, and within musket-shot of the batteries. He ordered the bowsprits of all the boats of his division to be unshipped, and every preparation made to board the boats of the enemy; he then advanced through a heavy fire from the battery and gun-boats, and boarded one of the boats with twenty-seven Americans: the deck was cleared in a few minutes, and DECATUR was about to take his prize out of the line, when a boat which had been commanded by his brother, Lieutenant James Decatur, came under his stern; and he was informed that his brother, after capturing one of the enemy's boats, had been treacherously slain by the commander, who was then making for the port. He waited to hear no more, but hastened to overtake the assassin, and avenge his brother: with his single boat he pursued the retreating foe beyond the line of the enemy; he succeeded in laying his boat alongside and threw himself on board with eleven of his men, all the Americans he had left. The fight continued on the deck for twenty minutes, and but four of his men remained unwounded. DECATUR now singled out the commander, who was the special object of his vengeance. With his cutlass he attempted to cut off the head of the espontoon with which his antagonist was armed; but striking the iron, the treacherous steel broke at the hilt, and he received a wound in the right arm and breast. They then closed, and after a fierce struggle both fell. The Turk endeavored to stab him with a dagger; but DECATUR seized his arm with his left hand, and with his right brought a small pistol to bear upon his antagonist—cocked it, fired through his pocket, and killed him. During this struggle, one of the Tripolitans behind DECATUR, aimed a blow at his head with a sabre; an American seaman, who had been so severely wounded as to lose the use of both hands, rushed between the uplifted sabre and his commander's head, and received the blow upon his own head, which fractured his skull. The generous sailor survived, and his self-devotion was afterward rewarded by the government.

DECATUR secured both his prizes, and received the highest commendation from Commodore Preble; who, on retiring from the command of the squadron, gave him the command of the Constitution. From that ship he was removed to the Congress, and, on the conclusion of peace with Tripoli, returned to the United States.

At this time his gallantry and success had rendered him a favorite officer with his countrymen. He superseded Commodore Barron, as commander of the Chesapeake, and was afterwards removed to the frigate United States.

In the late war with Great Britain, his skill and intrepidity were again eminently conspicuous. On the 25th of October, 1812, the United States fell in with and captured the Macedonian of forty-nine guns, esteemed one of the finest ships of her class in the British navy. The battle lasted an hour and a half. The United States received but little damage in her hull and rigging, and had but six killed and seven wounded. The Macedonian lost her mizen-mast, fore and main-top-masts, and main yard, and was much battered in the hull. Her loss was thirty-six killed, and sixty-eight wounded.

The reception of Captain Carden on board of the United States was highly honorable to DECATUR, evincing a chivalrous and delicate courtesy. When Captain Carden presented his sword, DECATUR declined receiving it, observing that he could not think of taking the sword of an officer who had defended his ship so gallantly, but he should be glad to take him by the hand.

DECATUR escorted his prize into the harbor of New York, where she was repaired and equipped as an American frigate. The name of the gallant victor was hailed with enthusiastic admiration throughout the country; and congress, several of the state legislatures, and the principal cities of the union, testified their high sense of his services by votes of thanks and costly presents.

In 1813, he attempted to get to sea with the United States, the Macedonian, and the Hornet, through Long Island sound; but was compelled to run into the mouth of the Thames, in Connecticut, by a squadron of British ships of much superior force. He lay off New London several months, without any opportunity of running out to sea.

DECATUR could not abide to be thus cooped up within sight of the ocean without using every expedient in his power to relieve himself. He sent a challenge to the commander of the blockading squadron, Sir Thomas M. Hardy, offering to meet two British frigates with the United States and Macedonian; but the invitation was declined.

At length the two frigates were dismantled, and DECATUR returned to New York, where he took command of a squadron destined for the East Indies; and having appointed a rendezvous for the other ships, he put to sea, in the frigate President, on the 14th of January, 1815.

Owing to some mistake of the pilot, the ship in going out grounded on the bar, and continued to strike heavily for an hour and a half,

which greatly injured her sailing. The next morning the British squadron were discovered in pursuit, consisting of the Majestic razee, the Endymion, Tenedos, and Pomona frigates, and a brig. It was soon apparent that the Endymion was the fastest ship. DECATUR, always fertile in resources, projected a plan of escape in accordance with the daring of his character, in which, had he succeeded, he would have reached the summit of naval renown. His design was to lead the Endymion as far as possible away from her consorts; board her with all his crew, who were in readiness at a moment's warning; abandon or destroy the President, and then escape; but the project was defeated by the caution of his antagonist, who suspecting the *ruse*, avoided it, and preserved the advantage of his position so long as DECATUR kept his course. Confident of his ability to throw the Endymion out of the combat before the other ships could come to her assistance, DECATUR changed his course and made battle. He completely crippled his adversary's ship, and silenced her battery. He then pursued his course as before; but by this time the other ships had opened their fire upon the President. To escape was out of the question, to fight the squadron with his single ship with a view to conquest was hopeless, and an unjustifiable waste of the lives of his men; he therefore surrendered to the commander of the squadron. The British have endeavored to make it appear that the President surrendered to the Endymion; it was not so. There were intervals of minutes in which she did not fire a gun before the President left her, nor did she fire a gun when the latter changed her course and might have been raked.

DECATUR soon after returned to the United States, and was immediately employed on his favorite element.

The Algerines, instigated as was supposed, by British agents, but more probably by the hope of plunder, had taken advantage of our war with Great Britain, to capture some of our merchantmen, and enslave their crews. That war having been terminated, a squadron was despatched to the Mediterranean, under command of Commodore DECATUR. He captured an Algerine frigate of forty-nine guns after a short action, (in which the celebrated Rais Hammida was killed,) and a brig of twenty-two guns. He arrived before Algiers on the 22d of June, 1815, and immediately demanded a treaty. His terms were stated, with all possible brevity, to be a relinquishment of all annual tribute or ransom for prisoners,—property taken from Americans to be restored or paid for,—all enslaved Americans to be released, and no American ever again to be held as a slave. The relinquishment of

tribute was the most difficult point to settle, as it was contended that it might be used as a precedent by the European powers, and prove destructive to the Dey; "even a little powder," said the Algerine negotiator, "might prove satisfactory." "If," replied DECATUR, "you insist upon receiving powder as tribute, you must expect to receive balls with it." In forty-eight hours the treaty was negotiated, giving to Americans privileges and immunities never before granted by a Barbary state to a Christian power. He then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, and obtained redress by a similar summary process, and returned home in the autumn of the same year. He was subsequently appointed one of the board of navy commissioners, and resided in the city of Washington, at Kalorama, formerly the seat of Joel Barlow.

We now approach the last act of Commodore DECATUR'S life, the result of which was his untimely death, with painful emotions. In October, 1819, a correspondence was commenced between Commodores Barron and DECATUR, in relation to expressions said to have been used by the latter disrespectful to the former. DECATUR promptly denied having used the language stated, but left the inference open that he had not been particular to conceal his opinions, which were not very favorable to the former commander of the Chesapeake. As is generally the case in such controversies, the difficulties became less likely to be adjusted, the more they were discussed. The correspondence on the part of DECATUR was remarkable for its keen sarcasm and severity, beyond the bounds of justification, either by his position or the letters of Commodore Barron. Both the parties reprobated duelling, and yet the controversy ended as such a bitter controversy could only end—in a duel. They met at Bladensburg on the morning of the 22d of March, 1820. At the first fire both were wounded; DECATUR mortally, Barron dangerously. Commodore DECATUR was conveyed to Washington to his distracted wife, and died the same evening. His remains were attended to the vault at Kalorama, in which they were deposited, by a great part of the male population of Washington and the adjacent country, by nearly all the officers of government, members of congress, and representatives of foreign governments resident there.

Thus DECATUR, in the prime of life, in the enjoyment of his country's highest regard and confidence, a husband, on whom the cherished object of his love was entirely dependent, threw away his valuable life in what is misnamed "an affair of honor," and added one more to the list of victims of a barbarous code, which few of his profession have had the moral courage to resist.

Engraved by T. Kelly from the Original Picture by Stuart

RUFUS KING.

Rufus King

RUFUS KING.

Rufus King, the eldest son of Richard King, a wealthy merchant of Scarborough, Maine, was born in the year 1755. After having received a good common school education, he was placed under the care of Mr. Samuel Moody, an eminent classical teacher at Byfield.

He removed to Harvard college in 1773, where he continued until the commencement of the war of independence, when the students were dispersed, and the college was occupied several months by the American troops. During this interval, Mr. King pursued his studies with his former teacher, at Byfield. In 1777, he returned to college, and graduated with great reputation, as a classical scholar, and as an orator of extraordinary powers. He immediately commenced the study of law at Newburyport, under the late chief justice of Massachusetts, Theophilus Parsons, and was admitted to practice in 1780.

For a short period, in 1778, he took the field as a volunteer, and served as an aid to General Glover, in the enterprise conducted by General Sullivan against the British on Rhode Island.

Mr. King made his *debut* at the bar, as adverse counsel to his great instructer, Parsons. Undaunted by the gigantic powers of his antagonist, he put forth his efforts with the skilfulness of an experienced lawyer, and exhibited so successfully his talents as an orator, that he at once opened for himself the path to future eminence. He was soon after elected a representative from Newburyport, to the legislature of Massachusetts. While he was a member of that body, in 1784, congress recommended to the several states to vest in the general government "full authority to regulate their commerce, both external and internal, and to impose such duties as might be necessary for that purpose." In the debate which followed, Mr. King supported the grant, and prevailed. This was one of the earliest instances in which the line of distinction was strongly marked, between the federal and state interests.

In the same year (1784), he was elected as a delegate to congress, and took his seat as a member of that body, then in session at Trenton, and never after resumed his practice at the bar. He was reëlected to the same station, the two following years.

On the 16th of March, 1785, Mr. KING brought forward and advocated the passage of the resolution by which slavery was prohibited in the territory north-west of the Ohio.

As a member of the convention held in Philadelphia, in 1787, for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and for his labors in the Massachusetts convention, to consider and decide on its adoption, Mr. KING is entitled to the lasting gratitude of every American. Next to that venerated conclave, the signers of the Declaration of Independence, that wise and patriotic body who framed the present constitution of the United States is worthy of our reverence. Those who are familiar with the history of the American government, from the peace of 1783 to 1788, will sustain this opinion. As has been correctly said by a late writer,*

"The history of the world records no case of more intense interest, than that which pervaded the United States, in 1788. Thirteen independent sovereignties, seriously alarmed for their preservation against each other, more alarmed with the apprehension that they might give up the liberty which they had gained with the utmost exertion of mind and body from foreign tyranny, to one of their own creation, within their own limits, called into the deliberative assemblies of the time all the able men of the country. Some union of the states was admitted by all to be indispensable; but in what manner it was to be effected, what powers should be given, and what powers reserved,—how these should be modified, checked, and balanced,—were points on which honest men might zealously contend. Here was a case, in which a whole people, unawed by any foreign power, in peace with all the world, sorely experienced in what may be the exercise of civil authority, dependent on no will but their own, convinced of the necessity of forming some government, were called on to settle, by peaceful agreement among themselves, the most important questions which can be presented to the human mind."

The great question of all was, as Washington said, "whether we were to survive as an independent republic, or decline from our federal dignity into insignificant and wretched fragments of empire." The old government by experiment had been proved to be inefficient; the embarrassment of debt which it could not command the means to pay, and the necessity of foreign treaties which it could not effectually guaranty, exposed the country to distrust and contempt abroad, and to tumults and distress at home. Mr. KING, having been in

* William Sullivan, Esq.

congress three years, knew the imbecility of the national government and the necessity of a revision. A convention to deliberate on the subject was recommended by some of the state legislatures, and congress gave it their sanction by a similar recommendation on motion of the Massachusetts delegation, then consisting of Mr. Dana and Mr. KING. He attended with the convention during their whole session, took a large share in the discussion and formation of the new constitution, and was a member of the committee appointed to prepare the final draft of that instrument. When it was referred to the several states for ratification, Mr. KING was sent to the state convention by his constituents of Newburyport.* In this assembly he distinguished himself by his intimate knowledge of the subject, the weight of his arguments, and the popular style of his oratory.

Soon after this, Mr. KING removed to the city of New York. He had, in 1786, married Miss Alsop, the only child of John Alsop, an opulent merchant of that city, and one of the delegates from New York to the first continental congress. In 1789, he was chosen a member of the legislature; and during its extra session, in the summer of that year, he and General Schuyler were elected the first senators in congress from that state.

During the great excitement which was caused by the promulgation of the British treaty, in 1794, Mr. KING appeared by the side of his friend, General Hamilton, at a public meeting of the citizens of New York. But their attempts to explain and defend it, were refused. They then endeavored to reach the public mind through the press, and jointly wrote a series of papers, under the signature of *Camillus;* the first ten numbers of which were from the pen of Hamilton, the remainder of the series were written by Mr. KING.

About this period, a petition was presented to the senate of the United States, by some citizens of Pennsylvania, in which it was alleged that Albert Gallatin, who had recently been elected a senator from that state, was not qualified to take his seat, in consequence of his not having been naturalized a sufficient number of years. A warm

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* Mr. Sullivan, in his "Familiar Letters," before quoted, says, "RUFUS KING at this time was about thirty-three years of age. He was an uncommonly handsome man, in face and form; he had a powerful mind, well cultivated, and was a dignified and graceful speaker. He had the appearance of one who was a gentleman by nature, and who had well improved all her gifts. It is a rare occurrence to see a finer assemblage of personal and intellectual qualities, cultivated to best effect, than were seen in this gentleman."

controversy ensued. Mr. Taylor of Virginia, Mr. Monroe, and Colonel Burr, maintained the right of the returned member to his seat; they were successfully opposed by Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Story, and Mr. KING, and their political friends. The speech of Mr. KING on this occasion is said to have been one of the most powerful displays of eloquence produced in modern times.

In the spring of 1796, he was appointed by President Washington minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain. He continued at the English court through the administration of Mr. Adams, and for two years of the presidency of Mr. Jefferson. While abroad, he lived on intimate terms with the most eminent statesmen and literary characters; and by the mild dignity of his manners, and his talents and capacity for public business, he acquired and maintained a powerful personal influence, which he exerted to advance the interests of his country.

Many important subjects were adjusted to the satisfaction of both nations, particularly the Maryland claim, which was finally settled by a convention, in which the British government agreed to pay £600,000. But the most important negotiation in which he was engaged was that which related to the impressment of American seamen. During the war between Great Britain and France, he had been unwearied in urging that great grievance upon the attention of the ministry, and finally succeeded in obtaining their assent to the principles of an agreement; but the peace of 1801 terminated the practice complained of, and the negotiation together. In 1802, a convention was agreed to by the British government relative to the boundary lines of the United States; but it was rejected by the president, and the subject for some years remained unadjusted.

Mr. KING had requested permission to return to his own country, when the war between France and Great Britain was renewed. He then made another effort to prevent a revival of the practice of impressment, and on the 7th of May, 1803, he submitted the following article:

"No person shall be impressed or taken on the high seas, out of any ship or vessel belonging to the subjects or citizens of one of the parties, by the public or private armed ships or men of war belonging to, or in the service of, the other party."

To this article Lord St. Vincent, the first lord of the admiralty, and Lord Hawkesbury, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, at first assented; but after a consultation with Sir William Scott, an exception

was required in favor of the *narrow seas*. Mr. KING, after deliberately considering the proposal, determined to reject it.

After his return home, he continued in retirement at his farm on Long Island, until the war of 1812, when he came forward and offered his services in support of the cause of his country. The following extract from a pamphlet ascribed to the pen of Mr. Van Buren, is alike honorable to the writer and to Mr. KING.

"At this momentous crisis, which applied the touchstone to the hearts of men, when many of the stoutest were appalled, and the weak despaired of the republic, Mr. KING was neither idle nor dismayed. His love of country dispelled his attachments to party. In terms of the warmest solicitude and in strains of the most impassioned eloquence, he remonstrated in his correspondence with the leaders of the opposition in this state and in the east, on the folly, the madness, and the mischief of their course; he contributed largely of his means to the loans to government; he infused confidence into the desponding, and labored to divest the timid of their fears; he sought Governor Tompkins, to whom, from the warmth of his devotion to his country's cause, and from the plenitude of his responsibility, rather than of his powers, every eye was directed, and to him Mr. KING communicated the patriotic ardor with which he was himself animated.

"The purport and object of his interesting interview with the governor, is thus described by the latter: 'Venerable and patriotic citizens, such as Colonel Rutgers, Colonel Willet, Governor Wolcott, Mr. KING, and others, animated me to the greatest efforts; the latter gentleman in an interview with me was peculiarly impressive: he said that the time had arrived when every good citizen was bound to put his all at the requisition of government, that he was ready to do this, that the people of the state of New York would and must hold me personally responsible for its safety. I acquainted him with the difficulties under which I had struggled for the two preceding years, the various instances in which I had been already compelled to act without law or legislative indemnity, and urged, that if I should once more exert myself to meet all the emergencies and pecuniary difficulties with which we were pressed, I must inevitably ruin myself. "Well, sir," added he with that enthusiasm which genius lends to patriotism, "what is the ruin of an individual compared with the safety of the republic? If you are ruined, you will have the consolation of enjoying the gratitude of your fellow-citizens; but you must trust to the magnanimity and justice of your country, you must transcend the law, you must save this city and state from the danger with which they are menaced, you must ruin yourself if it become necessary, and I pledge you my honor that I will support you in whatever you do."' Having done all in his power to induce to exertions at home, Mr. KING repaired to his post in the senate of the United States, and in that body zealously supported the prominent measures of the administration to sustain the country in the severe struggle in which she was engaged."

In consequence of the decided stand which Mr. KING had taken at the commencement of the war, the legislature, in 1813, elected him to the senate of the United States for six years. In 1819, the legislature of the state of New York was divided into three political parties, each having a candidate for the vacant seat in the senate of the nation. Neither candidate could obtain a majority, consequently there was no election. At the session in 1820, Mr. KING was

reëlected, with only three dissenting votes in the two branches of the legislature. It was to promote this election that the pamphlet quoted above was published.

It has been remarked (Annual Register, 1826–'7) that, "Mr. KING was one of those senators whom no habit of opposition to administration, and no arbitrary classification of supposed claims of party, could induce to a forgetfulness that the United States was his country, and that the rights and the honor of that country he ought to support and maintain. It has been observed that the conduct of the enemy in their destruction of Washington, tended to unite all parties in America. The speech of Mr. KING in the senate on this occasion, while it may compare with any of his former efforts in eloquence, has the rare and enviable distinction of being approved and applauded for its sentiments also, by the whole nation."

The principal measures originated by Mr. KING in the senate are, the law requiring cash payments upon sales of the public lands; and the act of 1818, on which is founded the navigation system of the United States.

The most unpopular act of Mr. KING'S political life was the part he took in the discussion of the celebrated slavery-question on the admission of Missouri to the rank of a state. An allusion to this subject is all that is necessary in this place.

At the termination of his second term in the senate, he intended to close his political career; but, in the hope of contributing to the adjustment of some disputed questions between the United States and Great Britain, he accepted the mission offered him by President Adams, and once more took up his residence near the British court. He was received by Mr. Canning and the other ministers with a marked and respectful attention. But his health was impaired to such a degree, that he was unable to attend to business; and after spending a year in England, he returned to his native land, and died on the 29th of April, 1827.

Mr. KING'S political sentiments were settled in early life, by the circumstances of his country. He was a federalist from the birth of the party, but he acted independently on the great questions which successively came under discussion. The consequence of his independent course necessarily was, that he became by turns a favorite with all parties, or an object of attack and virulent denunciation. These effects of party strife, however, will not deprive his name of that measure of honorable distinction to which our brief sketch is sufficient to show it is fairly entitled.

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER.

It has been remarked by a writer of some eminence, "that in *wishing*, mankind are nearly alike; and it is chiefly the striking incongruity that exists between their thoughts and actions that chequers society, and produces those endless varieties of character and situation which prevail in human life." An examination of our own hearts, and a comparison of our thoughts and actions, will at once satisfy us of the comparative truth of the remark.

The architect of his own fame and fortune, and the proud possessor of hereditary wealth and distinction, tested by this rule, stand upon a level; and starting at the same time on the race of life, it not unfrequently happens that the man of large estate finds himself, in view of the goal, outstripped in his career by the humblest of his tenants.

Wealth and profligacy are frequent companions; but such is the strength of public opinion in our community, that the wealth of the profligate can neither purchase for him the honors of office, nor screen him from public contempt.

Born to a large hereditary estate, it was the merited praise of the subject of our present sketch, that throughout a long life he, by his personal worth and conduct, commanded the respect and admiration of all classes of his fellow-men. His evil deeds are unknown, whilst his munificent contributions to works of science, his many beneficent acts of kindness to struggling genius, his fostering patronage of impoverished talent, and his noble and untiring efforts in the great cause of human improvement, constitute for him imperishable claims to the gratitude and veneration of posterity.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, commonly known as the Patroon of Albany, was born in the city of New York on the first of November, 1764. His first paternal ancestor in this country was a native of Holland, and a director of the Dutch West India Company, to whom a grant had been made of the state of New York, then known as New Netherlands, by the States General of Holland, themselves claiming title to the soil on the principle adopted among the nations of Europe,

by common consent: that discovery gave title to the nation by whose subjects it was made, against all other European powers, and that possession consummated this right.

For the purpose, therefore, of founding a colony, and thus consummating their title by possession, the West India Company was formed, and received a grant of the newly discovered domain.

Hendrich Hudson, according to the best authorities, on his first voyage, explored the river which bears his name, as far north as the city of Albany, at which place the director obtained an extensive grant of land on both sides of the river, then and now known as the Manor of Rensselaerwych, which, in the regular course of descent, was transmitted to its late possessor. His father having died during his early youth, his person and estate were committed to the charge of guardians, one of whom was his maternal grandfather, Philip Livingston.

The education of Mr. VAN RENSSELAER was commensurate with his station in life. His collegiate course, commenced at Nassau Hall College, New Jersey, was finished at Harvard University (then the pride of the new world,) where he received the degree of A. B. in 1782. Mr. VAN RENSSELAER attained his majority at a period of eventful interest in the history of his country.

The struggle for independence had successfully terminated, and the infant republic had commenced its existence among nations.

All, however, was not yet accomplished: a victory over ourselves was yet to be achieved. The articles of confederation under which the United Colonies had triumphantly resisted the power of the British Crown, were at once discovered as defective for the purposes of self-government. Discussions ensued, marked with great power and unusual warmth: in these discussions, which terminated in the adoption of the constitution, Mr. VAN RENSSELAER took an active part, enlisting himself in the controversy on the side of the federalists. The confidence of his immediate fellow-citizens was evinced by successive elections to the assembly and senate of the state, over which latter body, in 1795, he was called to preside as lieutenant-governor of the state, with John Jay as governor, in which station he continued six years.

Mr. VAN RENSSELAER's prospect of higher advancement terminated with the defeat of the party to which he was attached; but in his own county, so great was his popularity, so venerated his character, that upon all occasions of his nomination to the councils of the state or the nation, he rarely if ever was met by an opponent.

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER.

During the last war with Great Britain, Mr. VAN RENSSELAER was selected by the late Governor Tompkins for the command of our militia on the Niagara frontier; and, by the energy of his conduct, and the moral force of his character, succeeded in giving confidence to the army, dispirited by former reverses, and eventually to place his forces upon offensive ground.

The bloody though unsuccessful battle of Queenstown, fought by a portion of his forces under command of General Solomon Van Rensselaer, was the result of the new spirit infused into the army; and although, by the cowardice of a portion of the troops in refusing to cross to the assistance of their fellow-soldiers, the field of battle remained in possession of the enemy, yet the moral victory was with the American arms.

After the termination of the war, his services were again rendered in our halls of legislation; which scene he finally abandoned on the termination of the twentieth congress, having previously, in 1824, determined the election of John Quincy Adams as President, by giving the casting vote in the state delegation in his favor.

Such is a brief sketch of his public or official career; but slight is its importance in comparison with the noble and beneficent course of his private life. Looking alike to the moral, intellectual, and physical improvement of his fellow-men, he ever considered himself as not formed merely for political uses in the machinery of state affairs, but as an intelligent being created for those great ends which God has established as the objects of existence. Hence he sought out the errors of our social system, and strove to apply a remedy. Regarding knowledge as power, he lent himself and his fortune to the diffusion of education. He sought to carry that great mainspring of virtue to the fire-sides of our whole people, and in its train the beautiful precepts of Christianity.

Nor did he content himself with general effort. He always looked into the mass of society; he went into the abodes of poverty, and selected from among their inmates those whose genius and talents would fit them to be ministers to the improvement and happiness of their fellow-men.

In all the liberal professions there may be found individuals who owe their advancement to the secret liberality of the "Patroon" of Albany.

In the cause of temperance Mr. VAN RENSSELAER was always an efficient laborer; and to all the associations for the diffusion of the Scriptures, the spread of Christianity, and the moral reformation of

the community, he contributed his means and influence, and in several of them he held high official stations.

In the success of the great works of internal improvements, as developed in our Erie and Champlain canals, Mr. VAN RENSSELAER materially assisted; and on the death of the lamented Clinton, he was appointed President of the Board of Canal Commissioners, which station he continued to occupy till his death.

As President of the Board of Agriculture from its incorporation to the period of its dissolution, he rendered the most important services to the cause; and the geological surveys, made under his direction, of various portions of the state, produced a happy effect upon the interests of agriculturists.

To perpetuate and extend these efforts, he established in the vicinity of Troy the institution which bears his name; and, were other topics of praise wanting, the system of instruction pursued in the "Rensselaer School," suggested by himself, will always entitle him to be classed as one of the benefactors of the age.

This school was instituted in 1824, for the purpose, as stated by its founder, "of qualifying teachers for instructing the children of farmers and mechanics in the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy, and natural history, to agriculture, domestic economy, the arts, and manufactures."

The system of instruction pursued is one of practical application, each pupil becoming a teacher in all his exercises, and the school may justly be considered as the *common workshop* of all literary and scientific institutions.

Instead of commencing with the elementary principles, the student, reasoning from effects to causes, acquires them in the progress of his study. For many years the school has been in successful operation, and has given full satisfaction to its patrons and trustees.

We have given this brief outline of the peculiar characteristics of the Rensselaer Institute, as exhibiting the benevolent mind of its founder in its strongest coloring. Beautiful indeed is the picture!

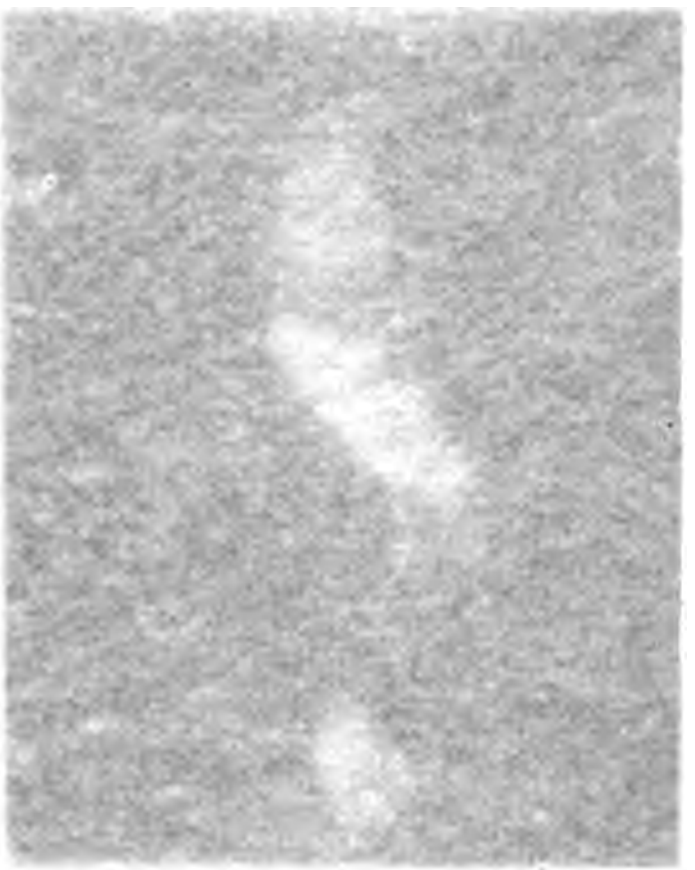
Amid the temptations of the world, the allurements of ambition and the all-pervading influence of earthly renown, he was seen devoting his mind and fortune to the paramount though humble duty of diffusing the blessings of knowledge among that portion of his fellowmen, who, from their station in society, are least likely to possess the means of its acquirement. When we remember that "liberty and learning lean on each other for support," we can well appreciate the value of such efforts.

But alas, even such a man, though so eminently distinguished, both in public and private life, for his wealth, munificent charities, and exemplary and Christian virtues, must "needs die." This painful event took place at Albany, January 26, 1840, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. "In General VAN RENSSELAER," says the Journal of Science, "we have a remarkable case of a man of great weight of character, continually acting a conspicuous part, where conflicting interests were often at his disposal, but who never had an enemy, and whose name the tongue of slander never assailed. Still he was always decided in his politics, from the revolution to his death. Washington, Hamilton, Jay, and C. C. Pinkney, were among his personal friends; and though he outlived them, he never outlived their principles. His munificent deeds of benevolence are found on the printed pages of almost every leading religious and scientific journal in our country. Almost every important public improvement exhibits evidence of his generous zeal. But the strongest marks of his own peculiar characteristic views are found among his efforts to benefit the common laboring classes. Through his munificence, as we have already seen, those useful sciences, which had been locked up among the learned few, are now the property of the farmer and the mechanic."

Like every wise man, General VAN RENSSELAER was the enemy of an improvident expenditure. He not only observed a sound economy, but also great moderation in the use of the bounties of Providence. He saved to give, and gave "without stint;" and in a manner so kind and winning, so free from ostentation, and so entirely with a brother's heart, as very greatly to enhance the value of his gifts. Born to a princely affluence, he sustained the dignity of his station by a noble hospitality in its best forms, not of show, but in the liberal gifts of kindness. His own wants were few and simple; he was moderate and self-denying in personal indulgence, while his almost boundless liberality may be read throughout the land, in many churches of different denominations, in institutions of learning for different classes, and on the lists of our benevolent and religious societies. For the benefit of all these he was always ready to suggest the wisest plans; and having devised the means, set a good example in furnishing funds.

It may not be improper, before we close this imperfect sketch, to remark, that the title of *Patroon*, which General VAN RENSSELAER inherited from his ancestors, indicated, certainly not in him, any thing anti-American. His whole life disproved this, nor have we ever heard that he ever wished the title to be used in reference to himself. It was

derived from the civil law and the institutions of Rome, belonged exclusively to proprietors of large estates in lands, occupied by a tenantry, like that of *Seignior*, which the French bestowed with seigniories, or large landed estates, in Lower Canada. General VAN RENSSELAER was the fifth in the direct line of descent from Kilian Van Rensselaer, the original proprietor and Patroon of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck, a territory about forty-eight miles long and twenty-four wide; completed and established under its original proprietor in 1637. The Patroons were, before the American revolution, baronial proprietors, possessed of peculiar privileges and honors. General VAN RENSSELAER was too young to take a part in the revolutionary struggle, but he was early imbued with the sentiments and feelings which animated the patriots of that period, and he retained them through life. To use the language of Mr. Barnard, in his funeral discourse, "He had no regrets for the past. He was satisfied with his position; and though the revolution, in giving his country independence, had stripped him of power and personal advantages, yet, as it raised a whole nation of men to the condition and dignity of freedom, and so to a political equality with himself, it was an event, which to a mind attuned as his always was to a liberal and enlightened philanthropy, was only to be thought of with the strongest approbation and pleasure."



WILLIAM PINKNEY.

William Pinkney was born on the 17th of March, 1764, at Annapolis, in the state of Maryland. His father was an Englishman by birth, and during the whole course of our struggle for independence, maintained his allegiance to the British crown; but his son, from his early youth, was a firm supporter of the principles of the American revolution. The elementary education of Mr. Pinkney was defective, but as good as could ordinarily be obtained during the revolutionary war. He commenced his classical studies under a private teacher, and soon after adopted the study of medicine; but not finding it adapted to his cast of mind, he relinquished the profession, and in 1783 was enrolled in the office of Judge Chace as a student of the law. In 1786 he was admitted to the bar, and removed the same year to Harford county for the practice of his profession. In 1788 he was elected a delegate from that county to the convention of Maryland which ratified the constitution of the United States; and in October of the same year, was chosen a representative to the house of delegates of Maryland from the county of Harford, in which office he continued until 1792, when he returned to Annapolis.

He was married in 1789, at Havre de Grace, in the state of Maryland, to Miss Ann Maria Rodgers (sister to Commodore Rodgers of the American navy), by whom he had a family of ten children, of which eight survived him, most of them residents of Baltimore.

In 1792 he was elected a member of the executive council of the state of Maryland, and continued in office till 1795, when he resigned his seat at the executive board, of which he was president, having been chosen a delegate from Anne Arundel county to the state legislature.

In 1796 Mr. Pinkney was appointed by President Washington a commissioner of the United States, under the seventh article of Mr. Jay's treaty with Great Britain, and accordingly he embarked for London with his family, and arrived in July of the same year, meeting Mr. Gore, another commissioner on the part of the American govern-

ment. During his official labors at the board, several important questions of international law, such as the practice of prize courts, the law of contraband, domicil, and blockade, were brought incidentally into discussion, and the written opinions of Mr. PINKNEY on these subjects were regarded as models of powerful argument and judicial eloquence. Within the time of his residence abroad, he was also deeply engaged in managing the claims of the state of Maryland to a large amount of public property, which had been invested in the stock of the Bank of England, and which had been long involved in chancery litigation; which claims he adjusted to the ample satisfaction of the parties.

In 1804 Mr. PINKNEY returned to the United States. In his absence he had enjoyed an intimacy with some of the most distinguished English jurists, among whom was Sir William Scott; he had heard Mr. Erskine, and had given an habitual attendance upon the British parliament; and he returned with the conviction that a higher standard of legal attainment ought to be adopted in this country, than that which was already established. He therefore embraced the opportunity to supply in some measure his own conscious defects, by extending his knowledge of English and classical literature, and by devoting himself to the study of elocution. Soon after his return from England, he removed from Annapolis to Baltimore, deeming it a broader field for the exercise of professional enterprise; and in 1805 he was appointed attorney general of the state of Maryland.

In 1806 he was appointed (in conjunction with Mr. Monroe, then American minister at London) minister extraordinary to treat with the British government regarding the collisions which ultimately involved the United States in a war with Great Britain; and in accordance with this mission, he soon embarked for the British court. After having for a long period continued to press upon the British government the claims of his country for the redress of grievances, without success, Mr. PINKNEY was recalled from England at his own solicitation, and arrived in the United States in June, 1811, when he resumed with ardor the labors of his profession. In September, 1811, he was elected senator of the state of Maryland, and in the following December he received from Mr. Madison, the appointment of attorney general of the United States.

In the controversies growing out of our last war with Great Britain, Mr. PINKNEY took a decided part in the belligerent discussions of the day; and in 1813, he published a pamphlet of considerable power, maintaining the justice of the war on the part of our own government, which at that crisis excited a strong public interest.

During that war, Mr. PINKNEY commanded a battalion of riflemen which was raised in Baltimore for local defence; and in the battle at Bladensburg he conducted with great bravery, but was severely wounded. Soon after this occurrence he was elected a representative to Congress, from the city of Baltimore. In March, 1816, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Russia, and special minister to that of Naples. He embarked on board of the Washington, a ship of the line, under the command of Commodore Chauncey, and on the 26th of July of the same year, he landed at Naples. The object for which this mission was established at the Neapolitan court, was to demand indemnification for the losses which had been sustained by our merchants, on account of the seizure and confiscation of their property in the year 1809, during the administration of Murat; but his negotiations with this government proved unsuccessful. In his travels through the continent, Mr. PINKNEY visited Rome, and most of the principal Italian cities, and ultimately proceeded through Vienna to St. Petersburgh, to fulfil the duties of his mission at the Russian court. After the lapse of two years, he returned to the United States.

Soon after his return from the Russian court, he was engaged in an important case, which sprang up on the alleged right of the state legislature to tax the national bank, which in 1819 came on for trial before the supreme court of the United States. This action was based upon a writ of error to the court of appeals of the state of Maryland, which had given judgment against the national bank for the penalties prescribed for non payment of the tax which had been assessed by the state. Mr. PINKNEY contended that the state law was unconstitutional; and after a long and powerful argument to establish this conviction in the mind of the court, judgment was recovered, exempting the bank of the United States from state taxation.

His talents, however, brought him once more into public life; he was elected a senator to congress, and took his seat on the fourth of January, 1820. One of the most important efforts upon which he was here engaged, was the great Missouri question; and his speech on that occasion, which is on record, abounds with the strongly-marked characteristics of his powerful mind. In the bill for the admission of Missouri into the federal union, there was a clause imbodied, prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the new state, and Mr. PINKNEY argued against the prohibition on the ground that congress had no power to make such a restriction upon the admission of a new state to the confederacy, and that such restriction was consequently unconstitutional and void. While in the senate, he performed immense labors

at the bar of the supreme court of the United States. On the 17th of February, after extraordinary fatigue in an important cause, he was attacked by a severe indisposition; and after a period of acute distress, he expired on the 25th of February, 1822; falling like a brilliant star, just as he had culminated to the zenith of his professional fame. He was buried in Washington, where he died, with the honors due to his senatorial office, and upon his grave was erected an appropriate marble monument.

Mr. PINKNEY's mind was of the highest cast of intellectual power, solid as well as brilliant; combining the fruits of laborious industry with extraordinary natural talents. Endowed with something of the enlarged philosophy, the exuberant metaphor, and the gorgeous rhetoric of Burke,—the chaste and pruned sentiment of Canning,—the lofty and impassioned declamation of the younger Pitt,—the brilliant illustration of Sheridan,—the ardent enthusiasm of Fox, and the rapid elegance of Erskine,—the eloquence of Mr. PINKNEY was founded upon his own model, and abounded probably with more advantages than that of any of the orators we have mentioned. Its foundation was laid in the most extensive and accurate knowledge, and a verdant and masculine imagination. Possessed of the most persevering habits of investigation, and disposed from these habits to labor, under all circumstances, in drawing his legal reasons from the great fountains of jurisprudence, he had always at his command the most abstruse learning of the law, while the course of his otherwise barren argument was generally relieved by the exuberance of a fruitful fancy, which always brought him a great strength and fulness of illustration.

In his political character, Mr. PINKNEY was a thorough and firm republican. Belonging to the party denominated *democratic*, he always advocated those doctrines of public policy upon which he deemed our government was founded; holding it to be a great public establishment, founded on the rights of man, and framed for the benefit of the great body of the people.

It is to be regretted that the record of his extraordinary powers lives only in the recollection of his contemporaries, or in mutilated fragments, which might otherwise have been handed down to posterity as a mighty and glorious monument of his forensic fame, and a valuable legacy to American jurisprudence.

ROBERT FULTON.

THE aid of the historian or biographer is hardly necessary to preserve the name of FULTON. He is identified with the age in which he lived, and so long as a knowledge of the power of steam remains, tradition will perpetuate the character and exertions of him, who, by his successful application of its power to the purposes of navigation, defied alike wind and tide, and compelled the elements to bow to the genius of man.

Yet although his memory exists, and will exist until the unsparing hand of time shall have swept away alike the records of his fame, and the knowledge of his triumphs, and mental darkness shall again obscure the earth; it becomes not less our duty to render him the praise which is his due, and to enrol his honored name in our work among the illustrious worthies of our native land. Lowly in his origin, needy in circumstances, and devoid in his youthful career of the appliances of wealth, and the patronage of friends; he possessed a mind and temperament that enabled him, in the pride of genius, and by his self-dependence, to command the one and disregard the other.

He smoothed for himself the rugged road to fame, and when standing on its lofty eminence, he relaxed not the toils by which he had attained his elevation, but

——"Gazing higher,
Purposed in his heart to take another step."

The father of ROBERT FULTON was an emigrant from Ireland to this country. He married Mary, the daughter of Irish parents by the name of Smith, then settled in Pennsylvania; and from this union ROBERT was born, in the town of Little Britain, in the county of Lancaster, in the year 1765, being the third child and oldest son. His father dying when ROBERT was little more than three years old, his means of instruction, which, during the lifetime of his parent, were small, were still more reduced, and to the village school of Lancaster, he was indebted for the ordinary rudiments of a common English education. The early bent of his genius was directed to

drawing and painting, and such was his proficiency, that at the age of seventeen, we find him in Philadelphia pursuing this avocation for a livelihood, and with a success that enabled him by strict frugality, by the time he had arrived at the age of twenty-one, to acquire sufficient means for the purchase of a small farm in Washington county, on which, with filial affection, he settled his mother, and which yet remains in the possession of his family.

In 1786, he embarked for England, and became an inmate in the family of his distinguished countryman, Benjamin West, where he remained several years, and with whom he formed an intimacy which death alone dissolved.

For some time after leaving the family of Mr. West, he devoted himself chiefly to the practice of his art, and during a residence of two years in Devonshire, near Exeter, he became known to the duke of Bridgewater and the earl of Stanhope, with the latter of whom he was afterwards for a long time in regular correspondence. About this period he conceived a plan for the improvement of inland navigation, and in 1794, received the thanks of two societies for accounts of various projects suggested by him. In 1796, he published in London his treatise on the system of canal improvement. The object of this work was to prove that small canals navigated by boats of little burthen, were preferable to canals and vessels of large dimensions; and to recommend a mode of transportation over mountainous regions of country, without the aid of locks, railways, and steam-engines. This he proposed to accomplish by means of inclined planes, upon which vessels navigating the canals should be raised or lowered from one level to another, through means of some ingeniously contrived machinery placed on the higher level, by lifting and lowering the vessel perpendicularly. The only ideas in these projects claimed by him as original, were the perpendicular lift, and the connection of the inclined planes with machinery.

From England, in 1796, Mr. FULTON proceeded to France, and took up his lodgings at the same hotel with his celebrated fellow-citizen, Mr. Joel Barlow. Mr. Barlow afterwards removing to his own house, Mr. FULTON accepted an invitation to accompany him, and continued to reside in his family for seven years. In this period he studied several modern languages, and perfected himself in the higher branches of mathematics and natural philosophy.

The attention of Mr. FULTON appears to have been early directed to the application of steam to the purposes of navigation. It is not claimed for him that he was the originator of the idea, nor that he

was the first to make the experiment; but it is affirmed, and justly, that he was the first who successfully applied this powerful engine to this branch of human industry, and by his genius and perseverance removed the incumbrances which had hitherto obstructed the path, and contributed to those splendid results which we are daily witnessing, and which, in its saving of time, has shortened space, and by bringing the various sections of our beloved country into more frequent intercourse, has strengthened the federal compact, and joined more closely the bonds of union. This important object was, however, temporarily suspended; and in the meantime, in addition to various other scientific projects, Mr. FULTON embarked in a series of experiments, having for their object the destruction of ships of war by submarine explosion. The situation of France at this period, engaged in a war with nearly all the powers of Europe, and compelled to succumb on the ocean to the naval superiority of Great Britain, gave a universal interest to his scheme, and at once invited the attention of the French government to the suggestion. A commission was appointed by Napoleon, then first consul, to examine the plans, and report upon the probability of their success. Accordingly, in 1801, Mr. FULTON repaired to Brest, and there commenced the experiment with his plunging boat, the result of which we find detailed by himself in an interesting report to the committee, from which, as related in Colden's memoir, we gather the following facts:

"On the 3d July, 1801, he embarked with three companions on board his plunging boat in the harbor of Brest, and descended in it to the depth of five, ten, fifteen, and so to twenty-five feet; but he did not attempt to go lower, because he found that his imperfect machine would not bear the pressure of a greater depth. He remained below the surface one hour. During this time they were in utter darkness. Afterwards he descended with candles; but finding a great disadvantage from their consumption of vital air, he caused, previously to his next experiment, a small window of thick glass to be made near the bow of his boat, and he again descended with her, on the 24th of July, 1801. He found that he received from his window, or rather aperture covered with glass, for it was no more than an inch and a half in diameter, sufficient light to enable him to count the minutes on his watch. Having satisfied himself that he could have sufficient light when under water; that he could do without a supply of fresh air for a considerable time; that he could descend to any depth, and rise to the surface with facility; his next object was to try her movements, as well on the surface as beneath it. On the 26th of July, he weighed

his anchor and hoisted his sails; his boat had one mast, a mainsail and jib. There was only a light breeze, and therefore she did not move on the surface at more than the rate of two miles an hour; but it was found that she would tack and steer, and sail on a wind or before it, as well as any common sailing boat. He then struck her mast and sails; to do which, and perfectly to prepare the boat for plunging, required about two minutes. Having plunged to a certain depth, he placed two men at the engine, which was intended to give her progressive motion, and one at the helm, while he, with a barometer before him, governed the machine, which kept her balanced between the upper and lower waters. He found that, with the exertion of one hand only, he could keep her at any depth he pleased. The propelling engine was then put in motion, and he found upon coming to the surface, that he had, in about seven minutes, made a progress of four hundred meters, or about five hundred yards. He then again plunged, turned her round while under water, and returned to near the place he began to move from. He repeated his experiments several days successively, until he became familiar with the operation of the machinery, and the movements of the boat. He found that she was as obedient to her helm under water, as any boat could be on the surface, and that the magnetic needle traversed as well in the one situation as the other.

"On the 7th of August, Mr. FULTON again descended with a store of atmospheric air, compressed into a copper globe of a cubic foot capacity, into which two hundred atmospheres were forced. Thus prepared, he descended with three companions to the depth of about five feet. At the expiration of an hour and forty minutes, he began to take small supplies of pure air from his reservoir, and did so as he found occasion, for four hours and twenty minutes. At the expiration of this time, he came to the surface without having experienced any inconvenience from having been so long under water.

"Mr. FULTON was highly satisfied with the success of these experiments; it determined him to attempt to try the effects of these inventions on the English ships which were then blockading the coast of France, and were daily near the harbor of Brest.

"His boat at this time he called the submarine boat, or the plunging boat; he afterwards gave it the name of the Nautilus; connected with this machine, were what he then called submarine bombs, to which he has since given the name of torpedoes. This invention preceded the Nautilus. It was, indeed, his desire of discovering the means of applying his torpedoes, that turned his thoughts to a submarine boat.

Satisfied with the performance of his boat, his next object was to make some experiments with the torpedoes. A small shallop was anchored in the roads; with a bomb containing about twenty pounds of powder, he approached to within about two hundred yards of the anchored vessel, struck her with the torpedo, and blew her into atoms. A column of water and fragments, was blown from eighty to one hundred feet in the air. This experiment was made in the presence of the prefect of the department, Admiral Villaret, and a multitude of spectators.

The experiments of Mr. FULTON, with his torpedoes, were subsequently renewed in England, where, in 1805, he blew up in Walmer roads, near Deal, a Danish brig of two hundred tons, provided for the purpose.

On his return to this country, he continued his experiments, and in 1807, blew up a large hulk brig, in the harbor of New York.

These experiments, however satisfactory to himself, were not so to the various governments to whom he had offered his services, and his efforts were therefore productive of no further immediate results, than to demonstrate the effect of submarine explosions.

We now recur to an important period of Mr. FULTON's life, for the purpose of tracing, in a connected point of view, those labors, the successful result of which has exercised so beneficial an influence on the destinies of the world, and on which rest his own claims to imperishable renown. As early as 1793, as appears from a letter addressed by him to Lord Stanhope, his attention had been drawn to the practicability of steam navigation. It does not appear that any experiments were made by him, until the year 1803.

"Among his papers," says Colden, "are a variety of drawings, diagrams, and innumerable calculations, which evidently relate to the subject: but they are imperfect; most of them are mutilated, and they are without dates, so that they cannot with certainty be assigned to any period. They render it very evident, however, that the application of water-wheels as they are now used in the boats which he built in this country, was among his first conceptions of the means by which steam-vessels might be propelled."

It is not our intention to enter into an examination of Mr. FULTON's claims as an originator of this idea; he made no such pretensions. Experiments had again and again been tried by different individuals, but without success; in some instances, indeed, vessels had been moved by the power of steam, but they had only served to prove the fallaciousness of each invention, and to confirm the ignorant in their

belief of its impracticability; and until the attempt of FULTON, we unhesitatingly assert, that the practical establishment of navigation by steam was wanting, and that to him is the world indebted for its advantages.

How contemptible is that narrow-minded sectional feeling which, in its desire to give credit to natives of a particular country, would descend to calumny and falsehood, for the purpose of robbing another of his well earned laurels, merely because his birth-place was on a different soil.

Genius belongs to the earth at large. It is the property of the universe. It disdains conventional trammels, and like our own free eagle, it soars in the boundless space far above the clouds of prejudice and envy, and regardless of the petty storms beneath.

As well might the claims of Watt as an inventor be disputed, because steam-engines were in operation before his day, as those of FULTON, because others had unsuccessfully attempted similar experiments; and yet we are told by Stuart, in his "Anecdotes of Steam Engines and of their Inventors and Improvers," that "there is probably no one, whose name is associated with the history of mechanism, and whose labors have received so large a share of applause, who appears to have less claim to notice as an inventor, than ROBERT FULTON."

So also in another part of his work, in speaking of Mr. FULTON's publication on the subject of canals before adverted to, he says, "The character of this book was that of its author, it contained nothing original, either in matter or manner." We can hardly return the compliment upon Robert Stuart, in reference to his production, as he is certainly entitled to the credit of originality for his idea of FULTON's character, and we may add, that in this thought he stands alone.

While Mr. FULTON was yet in France engaged in his experiments with the Nautilus, Robert R. Livingston, Esq., arrived in that country as American minister, and an intimacy at once commenced between them. Chancellor Livingston had previously been engaged in some experiments in this country, and in 1798, had procured from the legislature of the state of New York the passage of an act vesting him with the exclusive right of navigating all kinds of boats which might be propelled by the force of fire or steam, on all the waters within the jurisdiction of that state, for the term of twenty years, upon condition that he should, within one year, build such a boat, the mean rate of whose speed should be at least four miles an hour.

A boat was accordingly constructed by Mr. Livingston in accordance with the act; but not meeting the condition of the law, the pro-

ject was for the time abandoned. His acquaintance with FULTON was the commencement of a new era in the history of science. It was the union of congenial spirits—a junction of minds alike distinguished for capacity, energy, and perseverance, and bent upon the same grand design, and from whose embrace sprung into being that mighty improvement, which, in its influence on human affairs, has outstripped all other efforts of modern times.

The mind of FULTON was of an order which peculiarly fitted him for this undertaking: active, inventive, and unyielding, towering in stature, it may be aptly compared to that of the bard who saw

> ——"The tops of distant thoughts,
> Which men of common stature never saw."

Possessing a keen penetration, a mind also of superior mechanical order, and a thorough theoretical knowledge of the laws of mechanics, Mr. Livingston was deficient in that practical information, which with the other qualities was united in FULTON; and on meeting with FULTON, he at once perceived the man through whose talents he might hope to accomplish his valuable designs.

It was immediately agreed between them to embark in the enterprise, and a series of experiments were had on a small scale, which resulted in a determination to build an experimental boat on the Seine.

This boat was completed early in the spring of 1803: they were on the point of making an experiment with her, when one morning as Mr. FULTON was rising from a bed in which anxiety had given him but little rest, a messenger from the boat, whose precipitation and apparent consternation announced that he was the bearer of bad tidings, presented himself to him, and exclaimed in accents of despair, "Oh, sir, the boat has broken in pieces and gone to the bottom!" Mr. FULTON, who himself related the anecdote, declared that this news created a despondency which he had never felt on any other occasion; but this was only a momentary sensation. Upon examination, he found that this boat had been too weakly framed to bear the great weight of the machinery, and that in consequence of an agitation of the river by the wind the preceding night, what the messenger had represented, had literally happened. Without returning to his lodgings, he immediately began to labor with his own hands to raise the boat, and worked for four and twenty hours incessantly, without allowing himself rest or taking refreshment, an imprudence which, as he always supposed, had a permanently bad effect on his constitution, and to which he imputed much of his subsequent bad health.

The accident did the machinery very little injury, but they were obliged to build the boat almost entirely anew; she was completed in July; her length was sixty-six feet, and she was eight feet wide. Early in August, Mr. FULTON addressed a letter to the French national institute, inviting them to witness a trial of his boat, which was made in their presence, and in the presence of a great multitude of the Parisians. This experiment was so far satisfactory to its projectors, as to determine them to continue their efforts in this country; and arrangements were accordingly made with Messrs. Watt and Bolton, to furnish certain parts of a steam-engine according to the directions of FULTON.

Mr. Livingston also procured a reënactment of the law of 1798, extending the provisions of that act to FULTON and himself, for the term of twenty years from the date of the new act.

In 1806, Mr. FULTON returned to this country, and at once commenced building his first American steamboat. In the spring of 1807, the boat was launched from the ship-yard of Mr. Charles Brown. The engine from England was put on board, and in August, she was moved by the aid of her machinery from her birth-place to the Jersey shore.

Great interest had been excited in the public mind, in relation to the new experiment; and the wharves were crowded with spectators, assembled to witness the first trial. Ridicule and jeers were freely poured forth upon the boat and its projectors, until at length, as the boat moved from the wharf and increased her speed, the silence of astonishment which at first enthralled the immense assemblage, was broken by one universal shout of acclamation and applause. The triumph of genius was complete, and the name of FULTON was thenceforward destined to stand enrolled among the benefactors of mankind.

The new boat was called the Clermont, in compliment to the place of residence of Mr. Livingston, and shortly after made her first trip to Albany and back, at an average speed of five miles an hour. The successful application of Mr. FULTON's invention had now been fairly tried, and the efficacy of navigation by steam fully determined.

The Clermont was advertised as a packet-boat between New York and Albany, and continued, with some intermissions, running the remainder of the season.

Two other boats, the Rariton and Car of Neptune, were launched the same year, and a regular passenger-line of steamboats established from that period between New York and Albany.

In each of these boats great improvements were made, although the machinery was yet imperfect.

In 1811–'12, two steamboats were built under the superintendence of Mr. FULTON as ferry-boats for crossing the Hudson river, and shortly after another of the same description for the ferry between Brooklyn and New York. These boats consisted of two complete hulls united by a common deck, moving either way with equal facility, and thereby saving the necessity of turning. The writer of this article vividly remembers the starting of this latter boat, and a painful incident therewith connected; on which occasion, he for the first time saw the extraordinary individual whose genius and triumphs this humble production commemorates.

The boat had made one or two trips across the river, and was lying at the wharf at the foot of Beekman slip. Some derangement had taken place in the machinery, which the chief engineer was engaged in rectifying; when the machinery was set in motion, and, coming in contact with the engineer, mangled him in a manner that produced his death the next day. He was removed to the house adjacent to that occupied by the author, and well does he recall to mind the conversation between Mr. FULTON and the attending surgeon, in reference to the unfortunate man; after some conversation in relation to the prospect of his recovery, Mr. FULTON, much affected, remarked, "Sir, I will give all I am worth to save the life of that man." When told that his recovery was hopeless, he was perfectly unmanned, and wept like a child. It is here introduced as showing that while his own misfortunes never for a single moment disturbed his equanimity, the finer feelings of his nature were sensitively alive to the distresses of others.

It is hardly necessary to trace the further progress of Mr. FULTON'S career in regard to steam navigation. Altogether thirteen boats were built in the city of New York, under his superintendence, the last being the steam-frigate, which, in compliment to its projector, was called Fulton the First.

The keel of this immense vessel was laid on the 20th of June, 1814, and in little more than four months she was launched from the ship-yard of Adam and Noah Brown, her architects, amid the roar of cannon and the plaudits of thousands of spectators.

From the report of the commissioners appointed to superintend her construction, we extract the following description of this magnificent vessel.

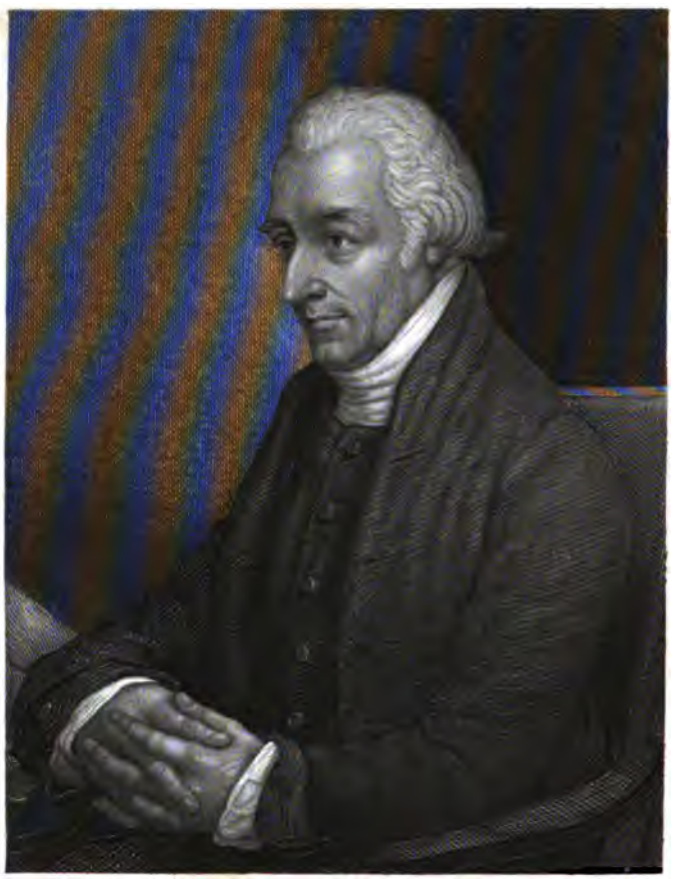
"She is a structure resting on two boats and keels, separated from end to end by a channel fifteen feet wide, and sixty-six feet long; one boat contains the caldrons of copper to prepare her steam. The

cylinder of iron, its piston, levers, and wheels, occupy part of the other. The water-wheel revolves in the space between them. The main or gun deck supports the armament, and is protected by a parapet four feet ten inches thick, of solid timber, pierced by embrasures. Through thirty port-holes, as many thirty-two pounders are intended to fire red hot shot, which can be heated with great safety and convenience. Her upper or spar deck, upon which several thousand men might parade, is encompassed with a bulwark, which affords safe quarters. She is rigged with two stout masts, each of which supports a large latteen yard, and sails; she has two bow-sprits and jibs, and four rudders, one at each extremity of each boat, so that she can be steered with either end foremost; her machinery is calculated for the addition of an engine, which will discharge an immense column of water, which it is intended to throw upon the decks and through the port-holes of an enemy, and thereby deluge her armament and ammunition."

Before the conclusion of this mighty undertaking, it pleased the Almighty to summon Mr. FULTON from the scene of his labors. He died in the city of New York, on the 24th day of February, 1815, after a short illness consequent on severe exposure.

The announcement of his death was accompanied with all those tokens of regret which mark the decease of a great public character. His corpse was attended to its last resting-place by all the public officers in the city, and by a larger concourse of citizens than had ever been assembled on any similar occasion. Minute-guns marked the progress of the procession, and every testimonial of gratitude and respect was lavished upon his memory.

Mr. FULTON left four children, one son and three daughters, and we regret to add, in the language of Colden, with no other "patrimony than that load of debt which their parent contracted in those pursuits that ought to command the gratitude as they do the admiration of mankind." In person Mr. FULTON was about six feet high, slender, but well proportioned and well formed. In manners he was cordial, cheerful, and unembarrassed; in his domestic relations, eminently happy. A kind husband, an affectionate parent, a zealous friend, he has left behind him, independent of his public career, an unsullied reputation, and a memory void of reproach.



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LINDLEY MURRAY.

Lindley Murray

LINDLEY MURRAY.

Among those who have contributed to dignify the annals of their country, by a devotion to the interests of the rising generation, and by the unobtrusive but impressive example of a virtuous life, may be ranked the subject of this memoir.

Lindley Murray was born at Swetara, near Lancaster, in the state of Pennsylvania, in the year 1745. His father was an enterprising trader and miller, and for the purpose of obtaining a more effectual support for a numerous and growing family, he removed to New York, and there distinguished himself as an active merchant and a man of great integrity and respectability. Lindley was the eldest of twelve children. His mother, he commemorates, as "a woman of an amiable disposition, remarkable for mildness, humanity, and liberality of sentiment, a faithful and affectionate wife, a tender mother, and a kind mistress, and that the recollection of her unwearied solicitude for his health and happiness, ever awakened the emotions of affection and gratitude." The character of Lindley Murray, therefore, and we may add, that of his brother, John Murray Junior, who will long be remembered in the city of New York, for his beneficence and worth, furnish additional evidence of the infinite importance of maternal influence in laying the foundation of intellectual and moral greatness.

Prior to the removal of his father to New York, Lindley was placed at school in Philadelphia, at an academy of which the English department was conducted by Ebenezer Kinnersley, the friend and correspondent of Dr. Franklin, and his coadjutor in electrical researches. At New York, at his own request, his father procured for him a private tutor, for instruction in classical learning, but such was the ardor of his pursuit of knowledge, and so close his application, his constitution was found inadequate to the pressure; he was compelled to relax in his studies. He was then introduced to his father's counting-room, and for some time was intently engaged in the pursuits and gains of commerce. He greatly lamented however,

the deficiencies of his education. He became a member of a debating society, which met weekly for the discussion of such topics as might be agreed upon, and while he admitted that his stock of knowledge was increased, and the logical arrangement of his ideas much facilitated by this exercise, he has left in his autobiography, a caution to his readers against the tendency of such institutions to produce a spirit of disputation and loquacity, and an inclination to scepticism on subjects of high importance. Though naturally of an ardent temperament, and much inclined to an indulgence in pleasures, his mind was fortified against infidel opinions by an early perusal of some of the most distinguished authors in favor of a divine revelation. Among these were Leland's View of the Deistical Writers; Butler's Analogy of Religion; Sherlock on Providence; and Sherlock's Discourses. These books, he observed, with some others, were the means of impressing upon his mind, such a survey of the Christian religion, and the divine economy, as to relieve him from all the embarrassments which are so apt to perplex men of prejudiced and short sighted views relative to the nature of religious obligation.

To reconcile him to the relinquishment of literary applications which were so obviously injuring his health, and to encourage him in the pursuits of commercial life, his father consigned to him an invoice of silver watches and some other articles, by the sale of which he realized so much profit, as to enlist in this traffic the natural ardor and energy of his feelings. The routine and restraints of the counting-house were, however, still irksome to him. His father's government, although dictated by the strongest parental solicitude for his welfare, he deemed to be too rigid, and having on one occasion received chastisement for a disobedience of orders with respect to evening hours, although the time was spent by invitation at the house of an uncle, he forthwith planned an elopement, procured a stock of new clothes, packed up his wardrobe and his books, and undiscovered and unknown to any of the family, proceeded to Burlington, in New Jersey, and entered himself as a pupil in a boarding school, of whose reputation he had previously been informed. His parents were greatly distressed at such an abandonment on the part of their oldest son; it was not long before he was restored to their arms by an incident which farther illustrated his characteristic energy, and his sense of honorable treatment. He met accidentally in the street, a person who had dined at his father's table, and who supposing him to be only on a visit, engaged him to convey a letter to New York, the speedy delivery of which he intimated, was of

some importance. Not being disposed to betray the secret of his residence, MURRAY took the letter, not doubting that he might find an opportunity of sending it without much delay; but not succeeding in this, and scorning to betray the confidence thus reposed in him, he hired a carriage, proceeded to New York, and delivered the letter, intending immediately to return without seeking an interview with any of his acquaintance. But the packet boat in which he had crossed the bay, could not sail till the next morning, and his only alternative was to remain at the ferry inn all night, and depart in the earliest boat. He was greatly surprised, however, in the evening by a visit from his uncle, who had received information of his being in the city, by some person who had noticed him; the affectionate expostulations of his uncle, and especially his representation of the distress and anxiety of his mother, at length overcame his resolution to return to Burlington, without first seeing her. He agreed to accompany his uncle on a visit to her, but he still intended to lodge at the inn, and to resume his station in the school. The tears and entreaties of his mother greatly affected him. His father unexpectedly came in, and instead of reproaching him, accosted him with affection, tenderly saluted him, and by a reception so different from what he had anticipated, effectually dispelled from his bosom every feeling of resentment, and determined him without hesitation to abandon the idea of leaving a home and family which had thus become dearer to him than ever. A messenger was sent the next day to the place of his retreat, to settle his accounts and bring back his property.

This event was regarded throughout his future life as a providential rescue from the danger to which such an act of insubordination might have exposed his character and his happiness. His disrelish for mercantile business, and his thirst for some employment more essentially connected with literature and intellectual occupation still continued. His father, sensible of the advantages he would possess in point of emolument and respectability if he continued in trade, and doubtless convinced of his qualification for filling the most elevated and honorable sphere of mercantile life, was averse to any change. Personal arguments, on a subject in which both parties felt a deep interest, and on which both claimed the right of an independent judgment, might have led to a collision which would put to hazard the good feelings which subsisted between them. LINDLEY, therefore, had recourse to his pen. Of the several pursuits to which he had turned his attention, none appeared to suit him so well as the law. He wrote a paper in which he fully set forth his dissatis-

faction with the business and duties of a merchant. No prospect of gain could reconcile him to the business of unpacking and repacking, of chaffering, of taking advantage of seasons, and watching the fluctuations of the market. His earnest desire for a literary profession was justified and defended by all the arguments he could muster, and the objections which had been, or might be advanced against such a predilection, were answered in a manner satisfactory at least to himself.

This paper was shown to his father, and also to a gentleman of the law, Benjamin Kissam, Esq., who was his father's counsellor, and a person of eminence and integrity in his profession. It had a most favorable effect. The counsellor became his advocate, and in a short time the fee was cheerfully advanced for his initiation as a student of law. His father generously presented him with an excellent library adapted to his taste and his wants. In this office John Jay was his fellow student, and it may readily be supposed that the talents and early virtues of one who attained to so high and eminent a station in the civil and political ranks of his country, contributed to soften the asperities of a study which, it is admitted, has much in its nature that is jejune and repulsive.

After remaining four years in the office of his preceptor, he was called to the bar and licensed to practise both as counsel and attorney. He prospered in his new employment, and soon formed a matrimonial engagement, which proved to him one of the greatest sources of felicity throughout the remaining period of a long life. The young lady was of a worthy and respectable family, possessed of personal attractions and good sense, and a most amiable disposition. She long survived him, a dignified example of feminine virtue.

Not long after he had commenced business, his father, whose health had for some time been impaired, went to England on some commercial concerns, and in about a year afterward it became advisable for his son to join him. The latter, finding his parent's health so much benefited by the change of climate, induced him to invite his family to come over to him, and in that country the united families remained for some time.

On returning to New York, in 1771, LINDLEY MURRAY resumed the practice of the law, in the exercise of which, he conscientiously endeavored to discourage litigation whenever he thought the cause of his client was unjust or indefensible. Pecuniary interest was not his rule of action, but it was his invariable practice to recommend a peaceable settlement of differences in all cases in which he deemed

such a procedure practicable, and mutually advantageous to the parties concerned. It would be difficult to assign limits to the amount of benefit which a lawyer of reputation may effect by practising on such principles of Christian benevolence; and we are happy in believing that there are many such among gentlemen of legal distinction in different parts of our country, whatever may be the number of those who, under the sole guidance of lucre, aggravate the petty feuds of vulgar life, and encourage the spirit of litigation.

His practice continued to be very successful, until the commencement of the revolutionary struggle. The general failure of proceedings in the courts of law incident upon the difficulties of that period, together with the feeble state of health which followed an attack of severe illness, induced him to remove to a pleasant retreat at Islip, on Long Island, and to wait the events of the war. During the four years of his residence at this place, a portion of his time was spent in the rural sports of rowing, fishing, and fowling, of which he became very fond, and which contributed to the reëstablishment of his health. But the retrospection of this period of his life, afforded him, as he acknowledged in its latter stages, no solid satisfaction, from the conviction that the greater part of it might have been better spent in doing good to others, and in such profitable conversation and reading as would have tended to establish the heart and life in the love and practice of goodness. The highest interests of the soul. might have been made to coincide with health and with rational physical enjoyments, without any of those indulgences which tend to produce dissipation of mind, or those selfish and injurious habits which are almost unavoidably consequent upon a thirst for amusements.

Dissatisfied at length with a life of mere bodily exercise and amusement, and unable to resume the practice of the law, in consequence of the possession of New York by the British, his only alternative appeared to be to return to the city and enter once more into trade. His father furnished him with an unlimited credit in England, he made out large orders, the goods arrived and were readily sold, new importations succeeded, and thus he continued, until the establishment of independence, when he found himself in a situation to gratify his favorite wish of retiring from business with enough to satisfy the moderate demands of himself and his companion, and to gratify that love of beneficence which is so characteristic of the Christian virtues. With a view to a life of rural enjoyment and exercise, in connection with the means of doing good which the proximity of a populous city more extensively affords, he

purchased a seat on the Hudson, about three miles from New York in all respects adapted to his scheme of enjoyment. Prior to his removal to this alluring retreat, he had a severe fit of illness which left him greatly debilitated, the tone of his muscles being so much impaired as almost to prevent him from walking. The air and retirement of his chosen residence brought him little or no relief,—season after season passed without much amendment. Travelling was resorted to; but neither mountain air nor medicinal springs were able to restore the energy of his system, and the return to his favorite Bellevue after a summer's excursion found him but little improved. Perceiving that the relaxing heats of the American summers had an unfavorable effect, his medical advisers encouraged him to give a fair trial to the more uniform and cooler temperature which might be found in some parts of England.

To this suggestion, both he and his wife at length cheerfully acceded, trusting that the separation from their country would be but temporary, and that improved health would compensate for a disseverment of the powerful ties of relatives and friends.

A prosperous voyage landed them safely in England in 1784. Agreeably to the previous prospects of himself and his American physician, he selected Yorkshire as his residence, and established himself in a modest, but very pleasant and convenient mansion, in the little village of Holdgate, within a mile of the city of York. His general health at the time of making this settlement, had been in some degree improved. He was able, without assistance, to walk in his garden several times in the course of a day. He had for more than twenty years purposely avoided the use of much medicine, so that his digestive system remained unimpaired. His disease was muscular; and tempted by the pleasure of gentle exercise, he encroached far on his remaining and improved strength, and was at length compelled from the severe pain which voluntary motion produced, to renounce it almost entirely, and confine himself to a sitting posture throughout the day. He continued for some time to ride daily in his carriage, deriving pleasure from the change of scene; but his muscular debility and the pain of moving continuing to increase, h was compelled at length to relinquish this, as well as the enjoyment of being drawn about his garden in a chair conveniently made for the purpose. The last time he went out in his carriage was in 1809, and from that time till his decease, upwards of sixteen years, he was wholly confined to the house. The position which he found most favorable to the preservation of his remaining strength, was an erect

sitting posture, and it was seldom that his friends found him in any other. When dressed in the morning and seated in an arm chair, which had casters, his wife rolled him with ease to the sofa, in his sitting room, on which, after he gave up taking exercise, he sat during the whole day.

His bodily sufferings appear to have produced in his mind, in every period of his adult life, the feelings of piety and devotion; and his recovery from danger or severe pain, awakened the liveliest gratitude. The total want of exercise seems to have brought on a calculous affection, which in June, 1810, terminated in the discharge of a small stone. His sufferings for some days were severe, but his mind was, as usual, calm and resigned. In an interval of comparative ease, he said, "My trust is in the mercy of God, through Christ my Redeemer. Nothing which I have done, that may seem meritorious, affords me any satisfaction on reflection, except as an earnest of divine mercy and goodness." He had subsequently a slight return of the disease, and was much afflicted with oppressive languor; but upon the whole his health was not so much impaired as might have been expected, from his total confinement to the house, his advanced age and enfeebled constitution. His spirits with slight exceptions, were uniformly good; his demeanor was at all times gentle; and his disposition mild, cheerful, and obliging. There was a genuine humility and even diffidence in his nature, which seemed to shrink from the idea of personally attracting any share of public curiosity or observation. His extreme debility induced him to decline much company, and to refuse many of the numerous calls which were offered him in consequence of the excellence of his character and the extent of his literary reputation. Mr. Edgeworth and his daughter Maria, have commemorated a visit which they paid him in 1803. They considered Mr. and Mrs. Murray as "the most striking example of domestic happiness, and of religion without ostentation, or the spirit of dogmatizing, which they had ever beheld." An American traveller of distinction,* who has described at length his visit at Holdgate, in reference to his character, observes, "He belongs to the society of Friends; but both he and Mrs. Murray have so tempered the strictness of the manners peculiar to their society, that they are polished people, with the advantage of the utmost simplicity of deportment. One would suppose that a

* Professor Silliman, in 1805.

situation so peculiar, would naturally induce a degree of impatience of temper, or at least a depression of spirits; but I know not that I have ever seen more equanimity, and sweetness of deportment, joined with a more serene and happy cheerfulness, than in this instance. When the painful circumstances of his situation were alluded to, he expressed his gratitude to heaven, for the many comforts and alleviations which, he said, he enjoyed under his confinement.

"You would not judge from his appearance, that he is an infirm man, for his countenance is rather ruddy; and it is animated with a strong expression of benevolence. His person is tall and well formed; and his manner of conversing is modest, gentle, easy, and persuasive."

Another of his fellow-countrymen* who visited him in 1819, remarks, "Though so weak as scarcely to bear his own weight, he has been enabled by the power of a strong and well balanced mind, and by the exercise of the Christian virtues, to gain a complete ascendency over himself; and to exhibit an instance of meekness, patience, and humility, which affords, I may truly say, one of the most edifying examples I have ever beheld. I have been informed by persons who were his youthful contemporaries, that he was possessed by nature of great vivacity of feeling and passions not less difficult to control, than those which fall to the ordinary lot of humanity. But so effectually have the graces of the Christian surmounted the waywardness of nature, and diffused their benign influence over the whole tenor of his mind, as to produce upon his countenance, a lustre and a sweetness of expression, 'with less of earth in them than heaven.'"

Thus prepared for his final change by a life of extraordinary self-denial and fortified by the exercise of the most eminent virtues of the Christian, LINDLEY MURRAY closed his earthly career on the 16th of February, 1826, in the eighty-first year of his age. His last illness scarcely exceeded two days. He died in the full possession of all his mental faculties. His characteristic benevolence forsook him not in the latter stages of his life. His income from the estate which he brought with him from America did not exceed five or six hundred pounds sterling; but this was sufficient for his demands, in the style of simple neatness and plenty in which he lived, leaving a surplus for the exercise of charity. The very considerable profits

* Professor Griscom.

which he derived from the almost unprecedented sale of his grammar and other works, were altogether devoted to acts of beneficence. He distributed books of piety; he gave much alms; he contributed, in various ways, to render more comfortable many persons in straitened circumstances. He paid annually for the education of several poor children in his neighborhood, which, before the general establishment of Sunday schools, was a peculiarly useful charity.

By his will signed February 1st, 1821, written by himself in a very neat hand, after providing amply for his wife, and commemorating a large number of relatives and friends by donations, either of books or money, and bestowing on several poor persons a small sum each, he bequeathed to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and to the African Institution, two hundred pounds each, and to seven charitable institutions in the city of York, twenty-five pounds each. The residue, after the decease of his wife, was to be transferred to New York, and vested in trustees, so as to form a permanent fund, the income of which is to be appropriated, first, to the liberation of colored people from slavery, and aiding in the education of their children; second, to the civilization of the Indians of North America; and third, to the purchase and distribution of books tending to promote piety and virtue.

Of the character of LINDLEY MURRAY'S literary productions, we cannot here say much, nor is it necessary that much should be said. But few authors in our language have had, within an equal period of time, so many readers. His works all had their origin in one main source, the discriminating benevolence of his character. He had formed a high estimate of the importance of a guarded, moral, and religious education of youth, and was of opinion that sufficient care had never been taken to incorporate sound principles of piety and virtue with the elements of literature and knowledge in the books which are constantly put into the hands of children at school. In this respect it must be confessed that he has wrought a most extensive and salutary reformation.

The first of his publications was the POWER OF RELIGION ON THE MIND. This little work exhibits in a judicious manner the sentiments expressed by distinguished individuals when in near prospect of the close of life. Although it aims at no literary pretensions, and was written only for distribution among his friends and neighbors; it has been received with great approbation, as the sale of seventeen editions, some of them consisting of three or four thousand copies, fully demonstrates. The next work was his ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This celebrated production originated in a kind personal effort on his part to instruct a few female teachers at York, in a more extended acquaintance with the principles and elegancies of the English language. In this he was so successful, as to receive from these young teachers an urgent request to prepare for their pupils, an English grammar, based on the same plan of simplicity and clearness that he had pursued in his verbal instructions. He acknowledges in this work, his indebtedness to Lowth and other grammarians, and styled himself only a compiler; but both hemispheres have amply testified to the superiority of this grammar over every work that preceded it. It was begun in the spring of 1794, and published in the spring of 1795. The EXERCISES AND KEY, which followed the grammar, contributed greatly to the extension of a taste for pure English, and at the same time to inculcate on the mind of the young student elevated sentiments of morality and civil life. The ABRIDGMENT of the grammar, published about the same time with the exercises, became so popular, that about forty-eight thousand copies of it have been sold annually in England for many years past. The ENGLISH READER, INTRODUCTION, and SEQUEL met with a corresponding reception, on both sides of the Atlantic. No school books have ever been diffused in a manner so nearly approaching to universal as those of MURRAY. The names of teachers and editors who have published these works with slight modifications to suit their own views, would make no inconsiderable catalogue.

The INTRODUCTION AU LECTEUR FRANCOIS, and the LECTEUR FRANCOIS, are worthy, in point of selection and arrangement, of the same praise as the corresponding English works, although from the grave character of the extracts, they have not been so popular among the students of that language. The *Octavo* ENGLISH GRAMMAR in two volumes, has been considered as a standard in settling the principles and adjusting the niceties of English composition. It has gone through five or six editions in England, and several in America. The demand for the school grammars has been so great in England as to require the types to be kept standing, and for many years past every edition has consisted of ten thousand copies.

The author published also a little work on the DUTY AND BENEFIT of a daily perusal of the HOLY SCRIPTURES in families, chiefly for gratuitous distribution, and a selection from Bishop Horne's commentary on the Psalms.

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN.

SURPRISE has been expressed, that in the early period of our existence as a nation, so few men of talents and literature devoted themselves to authorship as a profession, and that the subject of this memoir should appear for a time almost alone in a field, where so much was to be done, and so rich a harvest reaped; but, on the contrary, it is more surprising that any one qualified for those pursuits which seemed alone, at that time, to open the path to distinction and fortune, should turn aside to sport in the regions of fancy, and offer the result of his lucubrations to a public, who were impressed with the firm conviction, that to teach or to delight by the pen, belonged to Europe exclusively. CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN had received an education which qualified him for the profession which secured wealth, free from the risks of mercantile speculation—the profession from which proceeded our statesmen, legislators, and rulers; yet he preferred the toilsome occupation of book-making, from the pure love of literature, and a benevolent desire to benefit his fellow-creatures.

The parents of BROWN were of the sect called quakers, and descended from the immediate followers or companions of the philanthropist, William Penn. Born in Philadelphia, on the 17th of January, 1771, CHARLES was the youngest but one of five sons, and by far the most feeble in constitution and diminutive in stature. This delicacy of frame, and the early development of his uncommon mental faculties, with his peculiar modes of thinking, and facility in the expression of his ideas, united the affections of the family in him, and they looked forward, fondly, to his great success in the profession of the law which they had chosen for him. But he had conceived a prejudice against the practice of our courts, and to the great chagrin of the family, he abandoned the study without undergoing the necessary examination which precedes practice.

CHARLES had associated with several young men, who formed schemes for literary improvement, and for discussing subjects in the way of debate. Doctor Milnor, of the Episcopal Church, then a stu-

dent of law, was one; Joseph Bringhurst of the society of friends, another; and a youth of uncommon talents and personal beauty, William Wilkins, who was cut off in the blossom, was, perhaps, the leader of the band, and the best beloved by BROCKDEN. The older brothers of CHARLES, all men engaged in business of a mercantile character, although they considered his views visionary, yet felt a pride in his attainments; and loved him, perhaps, the more for those qualities in which he differed from themselves. They, however, joined with his parents in pressing CHARLES to make choice of a profession, and do as other men of this world do: their importunities probably drove him from home, for with the ostensible purpose of improving his delicate health, and invigorating a feeble frame, he made several pedestrian tours, indulging in the romance which was so dear to him.

The removal of one of his favorite companions, Elihu Hubbard Smith, from Philadelphia, (where he had completed his medical education,) and his settlement as a physician in New York, brought CHARLES to that city, and introduced him to a society of young men ardent in literary pursuits, and filled with sentiments to which his own were congenial. BROWN became particularly attached to three of this association, who, like himself, were impressed with the conviction of the propriety of exerting their faculties for the promotion of human happiness, and desirous of knowledge to be devoted to that purpose. His views in becoming an author were distinct from all selfish motives. He wished to become a teacher of truth, and he adopted the vehicle of novel-writing, as most likely to produce the effect he desired upon the greater number of his fellow-creatures.

Ever ardently devoted to study, he had from infancy devoured every book thrown in his way; but very early he systematized his reading; and history, with its necessary attendant, geography, occupied the boy instead of marbles or any of the sports usually the delight of that period in man's existence—the study of architecture was likewise a favorite with him, and he drew plans for earthly houses and palaces, at the same time that he built castles in the air;—he kept a diary;—he made efforts to form his style upon such models as he admired, beginning with Johnson; but Godwin became his favorite, and was such at the time he commenced author. A pure style, more exclusively his own, flowed rapidly from his pen and his lips in a more advanced stage of his existence.

BROWN's introduction to his New York friends occurred in 1793, and he then had commenced without definite plan or object, a story which he called "Sky-walk;" portions of this romance he afterward com-

bined with the works he published. The dialogue entitled "Alcuin," was the first volume given to the public; and it was not until 1798, that he published his powerful and successful novel of "Wieland;" although a writer of the North American Review of October, 1834, says, "under cover of the popularity acquired by his Wieland, Ormond, and Arthur Mervyn, CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN, in 1794, tried a monthly magazine in Philadelphia."

The residence of BROWN'S parents was at No 117 South Second street, Philadelphia, and that was the home of CHARLES; but for several years following 1793, the greater portion of his time was passed with his friend Dunlap, in New York and Perth Amboy. The impression made on BROWN by his first visit to New York, may be judged of by an extract from a letter to this friend, dated August 13th, 1794. "It will doubtless be pleasing to be assured that your hospitable intentions towards me were answered, and that I owe to you particularly, as much pleasure as I ever experienced on a like occasion, and that my excursion to New York, will long be remembered by me with the most pleasing emotions." In September, 1795, after a visit to New York, he writes to the same, "Soon after my return, I began the design of which we talked so much. I had planned so that I could finish a work equal in extent to Caleb Williams in less than six weeks; and wrote a quantity equivalent to ten of his (Godwin's) pages daily, till the hot weather and inconvenient circumstances obliged me to relax my diligence. Great expedition does not seem very desirable. Tenets so momentous require a leisurely and deep examination; and much meditation, reading, and writing, I presume, are necessary to render my system of morality perfect in all its parts, and to acquire a full and luminous conviction; but I have not stopped—I go on, though less precipitately than at first, and hope finally to produce something valuable for its utility." The work here spoken of was never finished; but the requisite study, and parts of the manuscript, enriched other compositions. It appears from another part of this letter, that the novelist had thought of accepting his brothers' invitation to become a partner in mercantile business, and even to go as supercargo to Spain and Germany. His oldest brother, Joseph, had likewise invited him to "pass the winter on the solitary banks of the Roanoke, where he tells me" says CHARLES, "there are musty books to read, and wild woods to moralize in. The arrangements above mentioned, will probably fix me here."

Four months afterward, he again wrote to his friend Dunlap; "After wandering through fifty pages, the experiment was sufficiently

made, and the thorough consciousness that I was unfitted for the instructer's chair, that my style was feeble and diffuse, my method prolix and inaccurate, my reasoning crude and superficial, and my knowledge narrow and undigested, suddenly benumbed my fingers: I dropped the pen, and I sunk into silent and solitary meditation on the means of remedying these defects." Until July, 1796, BROWN continued a kind of sleeping partner of the counting-house, reading principally books of travels, and studying architecture with his Palladio, and at length joined his friend at Perth Amboy. In September, he went with him to New York, and shortly after became an inmate with Dr. E. H. Smith and William Johnson, Esq., who kept house in Pine street, and there he wrote a great part of his novels. This happy establishment was broke up by the death of Smith, who fell a victim to his benevolence in the yellow fever of 1798.

On the 5th of September, 1798, the three friends, Smith, BROWN, and Johnson, wrote a letter in conjunction to Dunlap, whose summer residence was Perth Amboy. BROWN says, "Johnson and I are pretty well; but E. H. Smith, by midnight sallying forth, sudden changes of temperature, fatigue, and exposure to a noon-day sun, is made sick: perhaps it would not have been so if this demon had not lurked in the air. This afternoon I revised the last sheet of Wieland. It will form a handsome volume of three hundred pages. Some ten or twelve have been added since you last saw it. I have written something of the history of Carwin, which I will send. I have deserted for the present from the prosecution of this plan, and betook myself to another, which I mean to extend to the size of Wieland, and to finish by the end of this month, provided no yellow fever disconcert my schemes." Johnson on the same sheet mentions the labors of CHARLES, and Smith concluded the letter thus, probably the last of his epistolary efforts, "These gay friends of mine have so covered the paper with their gambols, that nothing but coldness and conclusion dulness and death-heads, are left for me.

"Had you seen me extended on my bed yesterday, rejecting (alas the while!) half a dozen applications from the sick, and confined to pills and potions, you would have trembled for the safety of your poor philosopher. To-day, however, I have sitten up till this hour; and, if the day be fair, to-morrow shall resume my customary functions.

"*Tuesday noon, September 14th*, 1798.

"By order of the Committee,

"E. H. Smith, (this day 27)."

On the 18th, CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN and William Johnson write to the same friend, saying that they have in the house a young Italian, Signor Scandella, dangerously ill of the fever, and under the care of Smith. Scandella was a physician and a scientific traveller, who was seized with the epidemic on his way from Philadelphia to New York, and removed from a hotel by Smith, that he might attend to him. He died. Smith sunk under fatigue, anxious exertions, and disease, and on the 24th, the two surviving friends wrote to tell Dunlap that "Elihu Hubbard Smith was no more." On the 29th, they joined their friend at Amboy.

In the year 1799, BROWN supported a monthly magazine published by the Messrs Swords of New York, (the first work of the kind that he undertook,) and was engaged in his "Arthur Mervyn," the scene of which was suggested by those he had witnessed in Philadelphia, in 1793, and the recent events of 1798, in New York. "Edgar Huntley" followed, and partook largely of his first composition of the same kind (above mentioned), "Sky-walk." It is full of incident and extraordinary adventure. BROWN's Indians have by certain critics been preferred to those of James Fenimore Cooper, although the latter was conversant with the Indian character, and the former drew his pictures from his own fertile fancy. Both these gentlemen so highly gifted by nature, have been intimately known by the writer; and although few men have more differed in person, manner, and all the modes of social intercourse, as well as style in writing, they both considered themselves in the high character of teachers of truth, and benefactors of the human race. BROWN was cut off in early life and in the career of usefulness; and the career of Cooper, while executing a plan of the utmost importance, which, by a succession of novels, attacked the rotten institutions of European prejudice and aristocratic tyranny, was interrupted by those who know not how to appreciate his motives or his character.

In 1800, appeared the second part of Arthur Mervyn. The author has in this work fully expressed his conviction, that he was to die early and by consumption. In 1801, BROWN published "Clara Howard;" and in 1804, his last novel, "Jane Talbot," was published, first in London by his brother James, and immediately reprinted in America. He had now become stationary in Philadelphia, and was engaged by Conrad to conduct "The Literary Magazine, and American Register."

In 1803, Mr. BROWN turned his attention to political writing. It might appear to many, that his studies and previous writings had little

qualified him for such speculations; but it is not the party men and party writers of a country who are the soundest politicians; BROWN'S Essay on the Cession of Louisiana to France, and other patriotic works of this period, entitle the writer to the praise and gratitude of his countrymen.

Little as BROWN'S habits or studies might appear to have prepared him for political discussions, yet, in addition to such labors of that nature as belonged to the two periodical works he conducted, he published several pamphlets which attracted great attention, in addition to that on Louisiana—pamphlets rich in facts and deductions, full of genuine patriotism, and displaying a view of the future, amounting to a strain of apparent prophesy.

In 1804, Mr. BROWN married Elizabeth Linn, the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Linn, a Presbyterian clergyman of great popularity in New York. Miss Linn was a woman of taste and literary acquirements, and the marriage was a happy one. BROWN was now professionally and altogether an author. His domestic establishment was in Eleventh street, Philadelphia, near Chesnut street; and in the adjoining house his venerable parents found a peaceful retreat from the cares of the world, surrounded by their affectionate children; their daughter and sons being all at this period residents of their native city, with the exception of James, who married and became a permanent inhabitant of the island from whence his ancestors originally emigrated.

In addition to the periodical publication above mentioned, BROWN now projected an Annual Register, the first work of the kind undertaken in America. Conrad was the proprietor and publisher of this work also. The persevering industry and extreme facility in composition which distinguished this extraordinary man, could alone account for the quantity of matter and the amount of valuable information contained in these works. They prove the extent of knowledge he had obtained by his previous apparently desultory reading, and evinced the correctness of his taste, the result of much study and profound meditation. But laborious as these employments were, he found time for contributions to Dennie's Portfolio, and for a beautiful eulogium (in the form of a biographical sketch) on the Rev. J. B. Linn, his brother-in-law, who died while performing his duties as pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Philadelphia.

No employment could be more congenial to the disposition and wishes of CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN, than that in which he was engaged. No situation more calculated for happiness. His wife, his children, his parents, his brothers and their children, were his riches

and his world—but like all worldly riches, they were soon to pass from him. Ever delicate, he became a victim to that cruel disease, consumption; and after trying the usual prescription of travelling, which, as is frequently the case, only added both to mental and physical sufferings, he lingered until February, 1810, and then expired with characteristic fortitude in the bosom of his family, with full reliance upon the benevolence of his Creator.

In 1811, his friend, being for some days in Philadelphia, made the following entry in his diary: "I called yesterday for the second time on the widow of my friend, CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN, and found her at home, and in company with his mother, likewise a widow since my last visit to this place. I saw the twin boys who used to be my playthings. I took them on my knees. I kissed them, and remembered former days—poor things! CHARLES has left another boy besides these, and an infant girl."

The personal appearance of BROWN was remarkable. Below the medium height, and slender in an uncommon degree, he was active and quick in his movements, and had always delighted in pedestrian exercises. The writer has accompanied him in a day's walk of forty miles, during which his copious funds of knowledge were poured forth with boundless prodigality, to the delight of his companions—occasionally interrupted by fits of abstraction, during which he would walk rapidly in silence, mentally conversing with himself or with the inhabitants of other worlds. His usual dress was singular. His dark brown hair had never been disguised by powder, although such was the fashion of the days of his youth, but fell in natural guise upon his neck and shoulders. His complexion was pale and sickly, his eye a dull gray, but capable of flashes when excited by conversation, and of a general expression of benevolence. No feature of his face was good, and yet the whole when animated was agreeable.

Although prone to conversation, it was only with a favorite few or a single companion. In a mixed company he was reserved and silent; or if forced to open his lips by some intrusive question, his answer was not unfrequently ludicrous or satirical, and followed by a laugh that was not a little disconcerting to the questioner; yet was his general deportment peculiarly mild and conciliating.

To CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN his country is indebted both for the quantity and quality of his literary productions. It is said that his published writings would amount to twenty-four volumes. He had been engaged in a work comprising a general system of geo-

graphy which he did not live to finish, or it would have proved a source of emolument to his widow and children.

Much has been written of his style, his beauties and his faults. His last writings evince an improvement which lead to the conviction that if he had lived, his character as a writer would have been among the first our country can boast—his character as a man stands conspicuous among the best.

A clerical critic, who has contributed much towards a history of American literature, and who wrote more than thirty years after the death of BROWN, has very truly said that he "has been more justly appreciated as a writer since his death, than in his life-time. At home and abroad the power of his pen has been felt in its bold and vivid strokes. He manifests much warmth of feeling, and a strong enthusiasm of thought and expression. His delineations are not of ordinary and common characters, of human nature in general, but of singular, peculiar, and eccentric beings, who are not governed by ordinary impulses, or destined to ordinary occurrences. In this particular, and in making his 'Buik' full of Brownies and Bogilis, we cannot think him judicious; for, as the Edinburgh Review says, 'No ghost was ever seen in North America.'" Besides his novels, Mr. BROWN conducted three different periodicals—the Monthly Magazine, and subsequently the Literary Magazine, and the American Register. His life has been well written by Dunlap, the painter.

JOSEPH STORY, LL. D.

THIS distinguished jurist was born at Marblehead, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the year 1779, and was the eldest child of a second marriage. His father, Dr. Elisha Story, was a native of Boston, ardent in the cause of liberty, an active participator in the memorable destruction of the tea, and afterwards a surgeon in the army of the revolution. Subsequently retiring from the service, he settled in Marblehead, where he practised medicine with celebrity and success, till the close of an honorable and useful life, in the year 1805. The subject of this brief memoir received his early education in the academy of his native town, then under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Harris, afterwards president of Columbia College in New York; but under the more immediate care of Mr. Michael Walsh, an usher in that institution, a ripe classical scholar, though better known to the commercial public by his valuable system of mercantile arithmetic. With such instructers, such a pupil could not but make rapid advances in good learning. He accordingly entered Harvard University, at Cambridge, in 1795, a half year in advance; and was graduated with high and well-earned reputation, in 1798. On leaving the university, his prompt decision was for the profession of law; the study of which he commenced under the Honorable Samuel Sewall, late chief justice of Massachusetts, then in the practice in Marblehead; and completed, after the appointment of Mr. Sewall to the bench, under Mr. Justice Putnam, of the same court, then practising at the bar in Salem. To the mastery of this profound and noble science he devoted himself with unconquerable vigor of application, ardent thirst of knowledge, and the compacted and various energies of a superior mind.

The period of his admission to the bar, in 1801, is still fresh in our recollection as one of great political excitement. The democratic party, after years of laborious struggle, had just gained a general victory, by placing its chief in the presidential chair; but it had still to contend, with unabated efforts, for the control of the remaining state

governments, against an opposing party, every where formidable in its numbers and talents, and in some states, vastly superior in strength. The existing divisions had unfortunately and unjustly been made to turn on our political relations with the two great contending powers of Europe; and the principles of the revolution were successfully invoked, to swell the ranks of the dominant party. In Massachusetts, the democratic party, in which Mr. STORY was found, composed at that time a minority, numerically strong indeed, but most strenuously resisted. Yet amidst the bitterness of party strife, the respect in which New England ever holds pure integrity and intellectual greatness could not but sooner or later be manifested towards a son so eminently deserving her confidence. Mr. STORY had brought into his profession untiring diligence, extensive learning, ready and persuasive eloquence, keen sagacity, integrity unspotted, and a tenacity and firmness of purpose which opposition could seldom withstand. He was of course much resorted to, at a very early period, and received solid proofs of the wisdom and discernment of the public, in the great extent and variety of his professional engagements. Political circumstances may have had their influence with others, in opposing him so young, and often alone, in important causes against the most eminent lawyers of that day. A distinction like this, at once so honorable and so perilous, may be regarded as a most felicitous event in the life of a professional man; since it brings him into immediate contact with powerful minds, and familiarizes him with the depths of his favorite science. The art of war is no where so rapidly and successfully acquired, as in the field against the great captains of the age.

In 1805, Mr. STORY was elected one of the representatives of the town of Salem, in the legislature of Massachusetts; to which office he was annually reëlected, till his appointment to the bench. In times of such political excitement, generous spirits are always found in the front of the battle; but the high estimation in which he was held, is evinced by the fact that during his legislative career, he was the acknowledged leader of the party with which he acted; and that on him, in 1808, was mainly devolved the task of defending the embargo policy of the national administration, against the resolutions introduced and supported by Christopher Gore, then in the fulness of his intellectual strength, and the zenith of his influence. It should, however, be remembered to the honor of Mr. STORY, and for the benefit of younger politicians and of later days, that he never was the slave of party. He acknowledged no party ligament, binding him to the support of measures which his sober judgment could not approve.

He recognised no code of political ethics, distinct from the principles which govern every good man in his private life. On the great questions of national politics, he was always a disciple of the school of Washington. While the restrictive system of Mr. Jefferson was avowedly resorted to and pursued merely as a measure of precaution, temporary in its nature, it could command his willing support, without any compromise of consistency. But when it afterwards came to be acknowledged as a system of permanent policy, he stood faithful to his principles in as earnestly seeking its repeal.

It was the good fortune of Massachusetts, that so much political influence was at that time possessed by Mr. STORY. From causes not within our present limits to detail, its supreme judiciary, beside the general odium in which the tribunals of justice are too often undeservedly held, had become peculiarly obnoxious to the democratic party; and yet the aid of that party was now indispensably necessary, in order to make some important alterations in the administration of justice, and to place the salaries of the judges on the permanent foundation intended by the constitution. Prior to the year 1806, their stated compensation, which was very small, had become far inadequate to afford a decent support; and the course for many years had been to make to each of the judges an annual legislative grant, to supply this acknowledged deficiency. Yet the language of the constitution in relation to these officers is, that they shall have "honorable salaries, ascertained and established by standing laws." A vacancy occurring at this time in the office of chief justice of the supreme judicial court, the appointment was offered to Mr. Parsons, then in the most lucrative practice in Boston; but it was declined by him, unless the salary should first be made both honorable and permanent, in the spirit of the constitution. This measure was accordingly resolved on. His legal eminence rendered his appointment desirable on public grounds. It was an era of necessary reform and improvement in the law; to effect which his transcendent talents and extensive influence were deemed indispensable. Obnoxious as the bold and decided tone of his politics had rendered him to the democratic party, the friends of the measure, relying with confidence on the magnanimity of Mr. STORY, and his devotedness to the true interests of the commonwealth, at once intrusted to his hands the projection of the means to carry it into effect, and the superintendence of their execution. He accordingly moved the subject in the house of representatives, was appointed chairman of the committee to whom it was referred, and reported a bill fixing the salary of the chief justice at

twenty-five hundred dollars, and of his associates, at two thousand each. A proposition of this kind, never regarded with universal complacency, was at this time most furiously assailed. It was ably supported, also, from various quarters; but its fate, from the position in which Mr. STORY was placed, was wholly in his power; and to his vigorous efforts, and the earnest appeal of his commanding eloquence, it is but justice to accord the merit of its passage.

The same causes which led to the permanent establishment of these salaries in 1806, soon rendered it necessary that another effort should be made to augment them. The judicial administration of Chief Justice Parsons had fully satisfied the public anticipations; but the experiment, so far as the emoluments of office were concerned, had convinced him that in accepting it, he had sacrificed a portion of income, required for domestic expenses. He therefore came to the resolution of returning to the bar, unless the deficiency was supplied by the state. At this time, in 1809, the democratic party controlled all the branches of the legislature, and, flushed with recent success, felt little disposition to gratify a leading political adversary, especially in a grant of money; an application very naturally concentrating, in some degree, the opposition of political friends with foes. The alternative, too, of losing the public services of the chief justice, could not be urged with much hope of success on those who, in that case, would have the opportunity of appointing his successor. But Mr. STORY was still in the legislature, holding the same leading influence among his political friends; and his magnanimity and love of law and order, were again invoked, not in vain, to place the salaries of the judges on such an establishment as should suffice, at all times, to command for those eminently responsible offices, the first order of legal talent in the commonwealth. A bill for increasing the salary of the chief justice to thirty-five hundred dollars, and of his associates to three thousand, was accordingly reported; it was not only long and carefully considered, but was hotly debated; in the exertions made to defeat its passage, the blows fell with indiscriminate force upon all its supporters, and upon none more than on him who had again led the column of its friends; but it was at length triumphantly carried. His able report on this subject, embodying a convincing argument in favor of honorable and adequate provision for judicial officers, has been recently published in Ohio, on a similiar occasion. The period to which we have now alluded, was a crisis in the judicial affairs of the state. The judges were all of the federal party, and the usages of that day, impolitic as we now esteem them, seemed not only to permit but to require

from the court, in each charge given to the grand jury, a discourse on the political institutions of the country; and these it was hardly possible to expound, without discussing some of the essential doctrines of the two great political parties. Such expositions were in no sense welcome to the men then in power; and doubtless strengthened a determination already manifest, to remove their authors by any constitutional mode from the offices they were thus supposed to pervert. The most obvious and simple process was starvation; supported by an outcry against high salaries. Had this method been adopted, and the doctrine been openly and generally maintained by the party, that the emoluments of office were already too high, and must be reduced, the tone of political morals, at that day, would have bound the party to be consistent in making a general and extensive reduction; and it would not have been difficult to foresee the fate of the administration of public justice, confided, as its tribunals must in that case have been, to men of third and fourth rate abilities. It was necessary that this threatened evil should be speedily stayed, and the public mind disabused of the prejudices which were beginning to fasten upon it. And it is no disparagement to the other friends of sound policy and good order to state, that for this salutary change of sentiment, Massachusetts is chiefly indebted to the discernment, the straight forward honesty, and moral courage of Mr. STORY. Few young men, in the ascending node of political power, would have ventured on so bold a measure as openly to oppose the darling prejudices and passions of their friends; and it argues much for the good sense of these men, that such an attempt was permitted to be so completely successful. It is to the permanent and honorable provision thus made for the judges, that the people of that commonwealth may attribute the benefits they have since enjoyed from a wise, and dignified, and firm administration of justice.

It was during his continuance in the legislature, that the subject of a separate chancery jurisdiction attracted much of the public attention. The early fathers of the commonwealth, with their plain good sense, thought that their tribunals ought to be enabled to administer relief commensurate with the wrong received by the party; and that where the apparatus of the common law fell short of affording such relief, it ought to be supplied by equity. An act for this purpose was accordingly passed under the old colonial charter; but the royal assent being withheld, it was never carried into effect. Something, however, in the shape of equity, was subsequently administered by the governor and council; but unfortunately it became associated, in the minds of

the people, with other attributes of royalty, vested in the governor, and of course came to be regarded with jealousy and distrust. Yet the want of an equitable jurisdiction was constantly felt as a defect in the municipal code; and at the period to which we refer, an attempt was made to reform this department of justice, by the establishment of a separate court of chancery. The committee to whom this subject was referred, was raised on the motion of Mr. STORY; and their report was justly attributed to his powerful pen. The substance of it was afterward wrought by the author into a most instructive article on chancery jurisdiction, published in the North American Review.

In the year 1809, Mr. STORY was elected a representative to congress, to supply the vacancy in Essex South District, occasioned by the death of Mr. Crowninshield. He served but for the remainder of the term for which he was chosen, and declined a reëlection. But in that brief space, in two important movements, he gave earnest of the breadth and elevation of his views as a statesman, and of his deep devotedness to the policy of the father of his country. The first was a motion made by himself, for a committee to consider the expediency of a gradual increase of the navy; which he supported in a speech marked at the time for its power, but of which no report is known to be extant. Unfortunately for our naval prosperity, the blindness of party zeal had fastened on the first proposal for augmenting the naval force, in Washington's administration, as a topic of party denunciation. The clamor had been continued and increased under that of his successor, till the leaders of the democratic party felt themselves too deeply committed on the subject, to recede with honor or safety; and hostility to the system of naval defence, except in harbors by batteries and gun-boats, had become a cardinal article in the political faith of the party. Mr. STORY's resolution, therefore, was a little in advance of that political age. It was met, not with open argument, but was put down by a party vote, as a measure inconsistent with the policy and hostile to the interests of the existing administration.

The other great measure to which we allude, was the repeal of the embargo act. This statute, as a temporary resort, whether for the prevention of war, or as ancillary to other and ulterior preparations for that event, or as preparatory to negotiation for a firm and stable peace, had been sustained by the friends of the administration with exemplary generosity and forbearance. Its long continuance, however, in the absence of any apparently beneficial results, had begun to exhaust the patience of the people, whose urgent inquiries and demands had at length drawn from Mr. Jefferson the avowal that he

relied on the measure as an essential part of a permanent system of policy; and that in his opinion it was unwise in this nation "ever more to recur to the ocean." An avowal so startling rallied at once that independent class of his friends whose political creed was not contained in the formularies of a party, to attempt the removal of a system they deemed so fraught with ruin to the strength and resources of the nation. In this attempt, Mr. STORY bore an early, an active, and a conspicuous part; so efficient, indeed, as to draw from Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to General Dearborn, the complaint, which posterity will interpret as highly to his honor as it was intended otherwise, that, but for him, the repeal would not have been effected.

In the spring following his return from Washington, he was again elected to the house of representatives in Massachusetts; and in January, 1811, and again in May, on the organization of the new house, he was called to the speaker's chair. For the arduous and often delicate and embarrassing duties of that office, he was peculiarly fitted; and the writer distinctly recollects the full and consenting testimony of all parties, to the dignity, ability, and impartiality with which he discharged them.

It was in November, 1811, at the early age of thirty-two, that Mr. STORY was appointed one of the associate justices of the supreme court of the United States. Never was this high honor so early achieved; never more purely and worthily worn. Adjusting himself to the proprieties of the station to which he was called, he withdrew at once from the political arena; and though never an indifferent spectator of his country's fortunes, he afterwards participated in them, not as a partisan, but as a judge.

It may be proper in this place, to advert to the only other instance in which he was called on to serve the public in labors not purely juridical. In the year 1820, after the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, it became necessary to make some alterations in the constitution of the latter state, growing out of the exigencies of the occasion; and a convention was called for that purpose, of which Mr. Justice STORY was elected a member from Salem. It was a body altogether resplendent in talent; for no one could anticipate the changes which a spirit of innovation, if once aroused, might attempt; and hence the selection of members was generally made from the highest order of minds within the reach of the electors. In that assembly, his influence was most extensive and salutary; and his speeches, published as they were uttered from the stenographer's notes, and without revision, particularly his splendid speech on representa-

tion in the senate, attest the unabated fervor of his eloquence, and his great power as a debater.

To those who have been much in his society, or are familiar with even his professional writings, it would be superfluous to remark that he had been a votary of the muse; since a highly cultivated taste, and a lively sensibility to the beauties of poetry and the richer creations of the imagination, are so visible in his compositions. His gravest juridical discourses, though wrought in enduring marble, are still finished with the higher ornaments of intellectual affluence. Many were the poetical effusions recognised as his by the delighted circle of his youthful contemporaries; but we recollect none of any magnitude avowedly his own, except "The Power of Solitude," a poem of wider compass and more regular structure, which was published soon after he came to the bar, and constituted the most acceptable *souvenir* of that day. But though successfully cultivating elegant literature, he was not unmindful of the severer duties of the law, whose worth, he knew, would "not unsought, be won." In the year 1805, he published a selection of pleadings in civil actions, subsequent to the declaration, from the pleadings of the most eminent in this science, in England and America, with occasional annotations of his own. Previous to this time, the science of special pleading, in New England, was principally contained in the manuscript formularies, handed down from one generation of lawyers to another, with scarcely a note or comment. The appearance of this work, with its most valuable body of notes, gave a new impulse to study in this necessary branch of professional learning; which after the lapse of near fifty years is resorted to, with all the confidence originally reposed in its safety as a guide. The second edition, published in 1829, is rendered more valuable, not, as is often the case, by the correction of errors in the first, but merely by the addition of new matter.

The judicial duties of Mr. Justice STORY, other than those in the supreme court, have been confined to the first circuit, embracing the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; and his judgments in this circuit are contained in the two volumes of Mr. Gallison's reports, and in the six volumes of Mr. Mason. His character and merits as a judge, it would be improper, at this time, critically to examine and discuss. But it may be stated, that on his coming to the bench, the principles of admiralty and maritime law were but imperfectly understood in this quarter of the union; their jurisdictional limits were ill-defined, and the practice in admiralty was almost literally without form. The reader of the firs*

volume of Mr. Gallison will not fail to be struck with the evidence of this great confusion of principles, and looseness of practice, by adverting to the points ruled by the court. We remember to have heard it remarked of the case of one, who, several years before, had been capitally arraigned in the district court of Maine, and, though defended by eminent counsel, was subsequently convicted and executed, that the exceptions, unavailingly taken in arrest of judgment, were founded chiefly on the common law; while a valid objection, peculiar to the national jurisprudence, was entirely overlooked. From this chaotic state these branches of the law have been redeemed, and brought to their present condition of beauteous symmetry and beneficial energy, by the labors of this most enlightened and accomplished judge; and were there no other memorials of the comprehensive variety and the exactness of his legal learning, his judgments in his own circuit, on these questions, would deliver him to posterity as an associate in all respects meet for the gifted mind which presides over our judicial department. It will be interesting to the professional reader, to be referred to his celebrated opinion in De Lovio v. Boit, 2 Gall. 398, a finished discourse in which the admiralty jurisdiction is asserted over all maritime contracts; to the case of the Greek ship, Jerusalem, 2 Gall. 345, where it is applied to material-men; and in Burke v. Trevit, 1 Mason 96, to wrongs, damages, and unlawful seizures at sea; to the case of the schooner Tilton, 5 Mason 465, in which it is extended to what are termed petitory suits, where the mere title to ships is litigated, independently of any possession; and to the masterly judgment in the case of La Jeune Eugénie, 2 Mason 409, in which the power of the admiralty is maintained to the extent of putting down the slave trade, as inconsistent with the law of nations, in all cases where it is not expressly legalized by the claimant's own sovereign. We are aware that this doctrine was subsequently qualified by the supreme court in the case of the Antelope; but in its leading principles, it is believed to have generally approved itself to the judgment of the profession.

The subject of seamen's wages has also been treated by him with equal fulness, and its principles settled in harmonious arrangement. The whole law on this subject will be found in his judgments, on the effect of capture and restitution, in the cases of the Saratoga, 2 Gall. 164, and Sheppard v. Taylor, 5 Pet. 675; of embezzlement, in Spurr v. Pearson, 1 Mason 104; of shipwreck and salvage in the two Catharines, 2 Mason 319; of misconduct and desertion of duty, in the Mentor, 4 Mason 84; and of sickness, in Harden v. Gordon, 2 Mason

541. For this last opinion, in which it is shown that the entire expenses of curing the sick seaman are a charge on the ship, including his support if he is carried ashore, and that no stipulation contrary to the maritime law, and injurious to the seaman, will be allowed to stand, unless an adequate compensation for it is shown, he is entitled to the lasting gratitude of the friends of humanity in the commercial world.

The administration of the law of prize, too, unsettled as it was, and almost unknown to the profession before the war of 1812, fell heavily to his share, in consequence of the extensive commerce of the north; and was discussed and illustrated with equal ability and learning. The proximity of the British dominions, the conquest of part of our territory by the enemy, the practice of trading under licenses, and of collusive captures, gave rise to a multitude of questions before him, embarrassing in their nature, the solution of which form a luminous commentary on this branch of the law.

It was, moreover, his singular fortune, to be obliged to revise and settle, and, with propriety it may almost be said, to create the American law of patents. Prior to his elevation to the bench, the restrictive policy of Mr. Jefferson had forced upon the commercial states the necessity of employing a great portion of capital in manufactures; and consequently had rendered every improvement in the mechanic arts of increased value to the inventor, and led to increased vigilance in securing this value to his own use. Hence, probably more questions of this kind have been litigated in the first circuit, than in the rest of the union. The author of the valuable treatise on the American law of patents justly acknowledges, what is apparent to the reader, that to the decisions of Mr. Justice STORY he is indebted for a great part of his work.

His familiarity with these departments of the law was not acquired at the expense of excellence in any other. In proof of this, we may refer to the equity cases of West v. Randall, 2 Mason 181, upon parties in equity; Dexter v. Arnold, 5 Mason 502, upon bills of review; Trecothic v. Austin, 4 Mason 16, upon the rights and liabilities of executors and administrators; and Prevost v. Gratz, 6 Wheat. 481, upon trusts; and to the common law cases of Fairfax's devisee v. Hunter, 7 Cranch, 603, upon the capacity of an alien to take and hold lands as a devisee; Green v. Liter, 8 Cranch 229, in which the principles of the writ of right are at large discussed; Halsey v. Whitney, 4 Mason 206, upon assignments by insolvent debtors; Tyler v. Wilkinson, 4 Mason 397, upon aquatic rights; and the celebrated

cases of Pawlet v. Clark, 9 Cranch 292, and Terret v. Taylor, ib. 43, in which he expounded, in a manner so lucid and universally acceptable, the origin of church property, the rights of the Episcopal Church to the glebe lands granted to it prior to the revolution, and the limits of the legislative power in relation to vested rights. These last two cases, and the important decision in Beatty v. Kurtz, 2 Pet. 566, developing the true doctrine of the dedication of lands to public uses, have settled interests and imparted quiet, in various parts of the union, to an extent of which few are aware.

His edition of Mr. Chitty's treatise on the law of bills of exchange and promissory notes, published in 1809, with a large body of well digested notes of the more recent decisions, was a most acceptable present to the profession. In the year 1810, he published an edition of the valuable treatise on the law of shipping by Mr. Abbot, afterwards Lord Tenterden, with notes of American statutes and cases; of which, in 1829, he published another edition, with an additional body of notes, including some English cases, overlooked by the author and his English editor. These notes, the whole of which were by him revised and recast, form a considerable portion of the work, which they have greatly enriched, leaving little to be desired on this subject.

A new professorship of law, in Harvard University, having been created, bearing the name of Dane, in honor of its munificent founder, Mr. Justice STORY was nominated, in the year 1829, to this chair. Upon this occasion, he removed his residence from Salem to Cambridge. The Royall professorship, in the same department, was simultaneously filled by the appointment of Mr. John Hooker Ashmun, a jurist distinguished alike for the vigor of his intellect, and the extent and accuracy of his learning. To the duties of this new office, accepted for the advancement of his favorite science, Mr. Justice STORY brought all the unabated energies and affections of his early manhood. The office proved no sinecure to him. It was discharged, not merely by reading, at stated periods, a written course of public lectures, but by close and daily personal examination of every student, in the subject of his daily studies; and he ever continued, by active and full participation in the ordinary instruction of the law school, as well as in his public lectures, to afford advantages to the student, certainly not surpassed at any similar institution in the country.

One of the earliest fruits of his labors in this chair was the publication of commentaries on the law of bailments, being the substance of his lectures in this branch of the law. In the method of this work, he followed the example of Domat and Pothier; and has not only

incorporated into the text every position in their treatises which could be of any use to a student of the common law, but may be said to have exhausted the works of the other writers, both in the civil and common law, of whatever could illustrate the subject or add to its value. The appearance of this work seems to have given occasion in England, not to an English edition of the same treatise, but to a reprint of the essay of Sir William Jones on bailments, the inaccuracy of which, in many essential particulars, has long been confessed; accompanied, however, by a full body of notes, nearly all of which are taken from these commentaries, though not credited to the author with that distinctness which the circumstances would seem to require.

His commentaries on the constitution of the United States, were published in the year 1833, in three volumes. The work is comprised in three great divisions, of which the first embraces a sketch of the charters, constitutional history, and ante-revolutionary jurisprudence of the colonies; the second contains a review of the constitutional history of the states, during the revolution, and the rise, progress, decline, and fall of the confederation; and the third embraces the history of the rise and adoption of the constitution, a full exposition of all its provisions, with the reasons on which they were respectively founded, the objections by which they were assailed, and such illustrations, drawn from contemporaneous documents and subsequent operations of the government, as may best enable the reader to estimate the true value of each. This work, admirable for its depth of research, its spirited and interesting historical sketches, and its treasures of political wisdom, has accomplished all which the friends of constitutional law and liberty could desire. It has since been abridged by the author, in one volume, for the use of the American universities and higher seminaries; and its elements have been wrought into a political class-book, for the subordinate departments of instruction.

If, among Americans in general, his fame may be regarded as resting chiefly on this masterly history and exposition of their constitution, perhaps jurists, both at home and abroad, will speak of him with stronger emphasis as the author of commentaries on the conflict of laws, foreign and domestic, which he published in the year 1834. In this most valuable work, the conflicting laws of different nations are treated with especial reference to marriages, divorces, wills, successions, and judgments. It has already received the highest commendation from enlightened and learned men in this country, and in England, Germany, and France; and has been reprinted in London,

with the deliberate opinion of a late eminent Scottish judge, that "no jurist can peruse it, without admiration of the industry, candor, and learning with which it has been composed." It can be of no importance to settle the comparative merits of these two great works, as the basis of professional fame. *Uno remoto, non deficit alter.*

In addition to these graver labors, he assisted in the collection of the charters and laws of the colony and province of Massachusetts, the publication of which was superintended by him, in conjunction with Mr. Dane and Mr. William Prescott. He also published, in the year 1828, a revised edition of the statutes of the United States.

Works like these would seem amply to have discharged the debt which every man is said to owe to his profession; and a mark far lower would have satisfied the desires of many an aspirant after honorable fame. But the exhaustless learning and untiring diligence of this accomplished scholar, have left us yet others, whose titles are nearly all which our limits will permit us to record. His review of Professor Hoffman's Course of Legal Study, may be found in the sixteenth number of the North American Review. The twenty-first number of that journal, contains his review of Jacobson's Sea Laws, comprising a beautiful compend of the history, and an account of the writers on commercial law. In the twenty-eighth number he reviewed Mr. Johnson's Chancery Reports, in an able and learned discourse on that branch of jurisprudence; the forty-sixth is enriched with an elaborate article on commercial law, with a review of Mr. Phillips' Treatise on the Law of Insurance; the fifty-second number contains a review of Mr. Dane's Abridgment of American Law; and in the fifty-eighth, and also in the first volume of this work, may be found his highly finished sketches of the life and public services of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall. To these are to be added his contributions to the law department of the Encyclopædia Americana, under the title of the Congress of the United States—Contract—Courts of the United States—Criminal law—Punishment by death—Domicil—Equity—Jury—Lien—Law, legislation, codes—Natural law—National law—Prize—Usury. The memorial of the inhabitants of Salem against the British orders in council, in 1807, and that of their merchants, in 1820, on the subject of the tariff, were also from his pen.

In the subject of education, both elementary and scientific, Mr. Justice STORY, amid all his other employments, always found time to evince the deep and beneficial interest he felt; not only in contributing his full proportion of lectures to the lyceums and institutions of education, but in effectual and active coöperation in the govern-

ment of Harvard University. He was elected an overseer of that institution in the year 1818; and, in 1825, was chosen a fellow of the corporation. In January of that year, when still an overseer, he delivered at the board an argument against the memorial of the professors and tutors, who claimed an exclusive right of being candidates for election as fellows of the corporation, replete with characteristic research, not only into the law relating to the question, but into the statutes and usages of the English colleges. The substance of this argument was published in the first volume of the American Jurist.

Among his published discourses and addresses, are his charge to the grand jury at the first circuit court held in Maine, in the year 1820; his address to the gentlemen of the Suffolk bar, in the same year; his eulogies on Mr. Samuel Dexter and Mr. Chief Justice Parker; and his biographical notices of Mr. William Pinckney, Mr. Justice Washington, and Mr. Justice Trimble; his discourse at the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in the year 1825; his centennial address before the Essex Historical Society, in 1828, upon the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the colony of "the Massachusetts;" a discourse before the Mechanics' Institute of Boston; an address at the consecration of the rural cemetery of Mount Auburn; his discourse upon the occasion of his own inauguration as Dane Professor of Law, in 1829; and another, in 1833, at the funeral of his colleague, the late Professor Ashmun.

Justice STORY died September 10, 1845. In the cemetery of Mount Auburn, not far from his favorite university, and within a few feet of his earnest and eloquent friend Dr. Channing, repose his remains. The remembrance of his virtues and accomplishments will lead posterity to describe him in his own glowing but just delineation of a kindred mind. "Whatever subject he touched, was touched with a master's hand and spirit. He employed his eloquence to adorn his learning, and his learning to give solid weight to his eloquence. He was always instructive and interesting, and rarely without producing an instantaneous conviction. A lofty ambition of excellence, that stirring spirit, which breathes the breath of heaven, and pants for immortality, sustained his genius in its perilous course. He became, what he intended, the jurist of the commercial world; and could look back upon a long track illumined with glory." His life has been ably written by his son, in two octavo volumes.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

THE subject of this memoir is the eldest son of Abraham Van Buren, an upright and intelligent citizen of the state of New York, whose ancestors were among the most respectable of those emigrants from Holland, who established themselves on the banks of the Hudson, in the earliest period of our colonial history. His mother, Maria Goes, a woman of excellent sense and pleasing manners, was also of Dutch descent. They died at advanced ages, the former in 1814, the latter in 1818, having lived to witness and enjoy the prosperity and well merited reputation of their son, not less distinguished by the unabated warmth of his personal affections, than by the public honors he had already received.

MARTIN VAN BUREN was born at Kinderhook, in the county of Columbia, and state of New York, on the fifth of December, 1782. In early boyhood, he displayed endowments so superior, that his father resolved to educate him for the law, a science for which he evinced both fitness and predilection. After obtaining the best course of instruction which the schools of the neighborhood afforded, he entered, in 1797, the office of Francis Sylvester, a lawyer of Kinderhook, and a man of estimable private character. Aspiring, from the first, to distinction, his legal studies were pursued with great zeal; he was early aware of the competition with able men in which he would be involved; and having nothing to hope from patronage or connections, he resolved to neglect no personal exertion that might promise future success. He remained with Mr. Sylvester nearly six years. Although his time, during this period, was chiefly engaged by his studies, and by the other duties of a law student, yet, as he grew up, he could not fail to become interested in the exciting political events which marked the close of the last century. His father, who had been actively devoted to the American cause during the revolution, had espoused the principles of the democratic party on the formation of the national government, and was among the earliest supporters of Mr. Jefferson when he became its leader. His son

early adopted the same sentiments; and though the gentleman with whom he was studying, and most of his youthful associates, belonged to the opposite party, then in the ascendant, yet he steadily maintained his opinions, and soon distinguished himself by his addresses at public meetings, and by other efforts, as a champion in their defence. This course secured for him the confidence of the neighboring democracy, and while yet young in years, he took a part in the contests of the day, as active and efficient as that of veteran politicians. He perceived that the differences of opinion then agitating the country, were not merely ideal, and that the distinctions of party were something more than those of faction or ambition; that under such circumstances, every one who felt an interest in public events, must adopt the views of one or the other, and that it became a duty to sustain those which the honest reflections of each individual taught him to consider best calculated to enforce the constitution, and promote the welfare of his country. The confidence reposed in him by his fellow-citizens holding similar sentiments, and the reputation for talent he had already acquired, were evinced by his being selected, when only eighteen, as a representative in a republican convention of delegates from the counties of Rensselaer and Columbia. From that time his connection with the politics of the country, has never been intermitted.

Towards the close of 1802, and with a view to his approaching admission to the bar, he went to the city of New York, and completed his studies in the office of William P. Van Ness, then an able lawyer there, and afterwards the district judge of the United States for the southern district of New York. In November, 1802, he received his license to practise as an attorney of the supreme court, and immediately returned to Kinderhook, where he commenced professional business. At the succeeding term of the county courts, he was admitted as an attorney and counsellor, and thus enrolled among the members of the Columbia bar, then and afterwards exceedingly distinguished in the professional history of the state. About the same time he made his first appearance as an elector, and acting in common with the great body of the democratic party, supported Morgan Lewis as governor of New York, in opposition to Aaron Burr. From this time till February, 1807, the exertions of Mr. VAN BUREN as an advocate, were necessarily confined to the county courts, but at that period, the requisite term having expired, he was admitted as a counsellor of the supreme court. The field of exertion was now fairly opened to him. It was one where he could win no honor without

constant industry and high talent. He found men of distinguished ability practising at the same bar. To the natural opposition of professional rivalry was added that of politics, the able lawyers in his vicinity being also formidable political adversaries. The conflict rapidly confirmed the powers of the youthful barrister; and his forensic talent, skill, and success soon equalled those with which he was called on to contend. In 1808, he was first appointed to a public office, that of surrogate of Columbia county, which he held for several years. In 1809, the increase of his business induced him to remove to Hudson, the capital of the county, which continued to be his place of residence during the next six years.

As the professional reputation of Mr. VAN BUREN became more extended, his influence and activity in public affairs were not diminished. From the commencement of his career, and for many years after his removal to Hudson, his political friends were in the minority of his own county; but this only served to augment his exertions, and to confirm his sentiments, especially during the times of high excitement which preceded the declaration of war with Great Britain. He had always been among those who labored to awaken, in our councils, a spirit of resistance towards the invaders of our neutral rights, and as the crisis approached, his position enabled him to do so with great efficiency. In 1812, he was elected for the term of four years to the senate of New York, in which body he took his seat in the following November. He at once promoted and supported every measure, calculated to aid or strengthen the general government, in carrying on the war. In the spring of 1813, he wrote an address to the electors of the state, issued by the republican members of the legislature, in which he enforced with energy and eloquence, as well as with effect, the duty of sustaining the administration with all the influence and resources of the state. During the subsequent session, his task became more arduous. The federal party had a majority in the house of assembly, though the friends of the administration continued to prevail in the senate. In the animated discussions to which this necessarily led, Mr. VAN BUREN was a principal speaker on the floor of the senate, and at the public conferences sometimes held by the two bodies. On all these occasions he highly distinguished himself, both by the eloquence of his speeches, and the readiness and dexterity he displayed in debates, eagerly listened to by much excited audiences. In every measure that was devised, in the bills brought forward, in the state papers issued, his untiring industry, clear intellect, and steady purpose were strikingly and successfully developed.

In the year 1814, the political friends of Mr. VAN BUREN regained their ascendency in the house of assembly, and his efforts were consequently attended with more success. During a special session, convened in the autumn by Governor Tompkins, he took the lead in debate, and brought forward measures of a very decided character. Of these, the most prominent, as it was certainly one of the most energetic ever adopted in this country, was a law, framed with reference to property as well as persons, for raising immediately, through the agency of classes, twelve thousand men, to be placed at the disposal of the general government. This he introduced and carried against the most strenuous opposition. He so arranged the details as to avoid many of the obnoxious features of the militia law, and to place on the wealth of the state a due share of the burden of its defence. The strong measures of the session having been objected to, in the council of revision, by Chancellor Kent, their validity and merits were afterwards discussed in the newspapers, and several essays of great ability were written by Mr. VAN BUREN, in reply to a series attributed to the chancellor himself. At the ensuing session, which commenced in January, 1815, he again took the lead in support of the war, and was actually engaged, as the chairman of a committee, in framing additional measures for that end, when the express bringing the news of peace reached Albany.

His ability and reputation, both as a lawyer and politician, now deservedly indicated him for the office of attorney-general of the state, and to that he was accordingly appointed, in February 1815. He was also chosen, about the same time, one of the regents of the university, and soon after removed his residence to Albany. Though the labors of his profession were thus increased, he did not retire from the senate. Reëlected to that body in 1816, he continued to be found, for the four succeeding years, among the supporters of every measure connected with the welfare of the state. He was especially a leading advocate of the great system of internal improvement, which was commenced about that time, and has since, by its success, conferred so much honor and advantage on the people of New York. The actual foundation of that system was laid by the passage of two laws, the one in 1816, the other in 1817; the former authorizing preparatory surveys, and the latter providing for the construction of the canals. Serious diversity of opinion upon the subject existed among men of all parties. Most of the political friends of Mr. VAN BUREN, who then constituted a majority in the senate, were very decidedly opposed to the measure; and as his influence with them was great, the deepest inter-

est was felt in regard to his own conduct. It was at once prompt and most efficient; and the uniform aid which those important public works have received at his hands, is well known and justly appreciated by his fellow-citizens. A political opponent* has given the following account of his course, relative to the two laws in question. "The bill (of 1816) was taken up in committee of the whole, on the 16th (ot April), on motion of Mr. Van Vechten. On motion of Mr. VAN BUREN, it was amended, by striking out all those parts which went to authorize the commencement of the work, and making it altogether preparatory, by directing the procurement of more accurate surveys and estimates. The reasons for this course were stated by Mr. VAN BUREN at considerable length. 'It being evident,' he said, 'to his mind, that the legislature did not possess sufficient information to justify the passage of a law, authorizing the commencement of the work, and apprehending that the measure might be prejudiced in the public mind by inconsiderate legislation, he believed this to be the safer course.' His amendment was adopted by a vote of twenty to nine." It may here be remarked that almost all the western members, the most zealous advocates of the measure, ultimately yielded their assent to these views. Passing to the bill of 1817, the writer adds, "On the 14th, the discussion was resumed, when Mr. Elmendorf, of Ulster, and Mr. P. R. Livingston, of Dutchess, successively spoke at length in opposition. Mr. Tibbits made a very sound and judicious reply, and was followed by Mr. VAN BUREN, also in favor of the bill. This was Mr. VAN BUREN'S great speech of the session, and it was indeed a masterly effort. I took notes of the whole debate at the time; but being then young in the business of reporting, and this being the first time I had ever attempted to follow Mr. VAN BUREN, whose utterance is too rapid for an unpractised pen, and whose manner was on that occasion too interesting to allow a reporter to keep his eyes upon his paper, my effort was little more than a failure. * * When Mr. VAN BUREN resumed his seat, Mr. Clinton, who had been an attentive listener in the senate chamber, breaking through that reserve which political divisions had created, approached him, and expressed his thanks for his exertions, in the most flattering manner. * * In the course of this day's sitting a very important motion was made by Mr. VAN BUREN with success. The bill, as it passed the assembly, authorized the loans to be made on the canal fund only; and that was the best form in which

* Appendix to Hosack's Memoir of De Witt Clinton.

it could, in the first instance, be passed in that body. The vital importance of extending the security, was at that time fully appreciated by the friends of the canal, and has been amply confirmed by experience. The amendment was adopted by a vote of sixteen to eleven. The result was that the bill was successfully carried through both houses, in the course of the evening session of the same day, and sent to the council of revision. It became a law on the following day, viz. the 15th day of April. Under this act the first meeting of the commissioners, to receive proposals and make contracts, preparatory to the actual commencement of the work, was held at Utica, on the 3d of July, 1817."

Continuing to act uniformly with his political associates of the republican party, and sustaining with ability, certainly not surpassed if equalled by any of his coadjutors, the particular views which they deemed most conducive to the public interest, Mr. VAN BUREN had now become their acknowledged leader, as he was decidedly among the first in their confidence and affections. In the revolutions of party politics, one so distinguished could not avoid some reverses; and those with whom he acted having, in the year 1819, lost the control of the appointing power, he was removed from the office of attorney-general. It was not long, however, before he was summoned by his fellow-citizens to a station of higher interest. He had, for some time, warmly advocated a convention for amending the state constitution, which he considered defective in many particulars. A law for the convocation of one was passed by the legislature, and it assembled at the capital in the year 1821. Mr. VAN BUREN though a resident of Albany, was, unexpectedly to himself, returned as a member by the electors of Otsego county, and took his seat as their representative. His speeches in the convention are evidences at once of his ability, and of the soundness, moderation, and justice which characterized his opinions on the various principles of government brought into elaborate discussion. He resisted every measure of which he believed the operation would be personal or partial, even when it emanated from his own political associates; while he labored to infuse into the new constitution a broader republican spirit, he anxiously endeavored so to temper it, that the just balance of influence, responsibility, and power might be always preserved; and the people of New York certainly owe to him, in no small degree, a system of government, doubtless among the best that has been formed in any of the states of our union.

From this convention, Mr. VAN BUREN was called to represent his native state, in the senate of the United States. To that honorable

office he was elected, by the legislature of New York, in the same year. In December, 1821, he took his seat there as the colleague of Rufus King, a statesman with whom indeed he differed on many questions of fundamental policy, but to whose high talents no one more willingly did justice, as certainly no one was better able to appreciate or to cope with them. He continued in the senate more than seven years, being reëlected on the expiration of his first term, and in that enlarged field displayed the same abilities, and soon acquired the same elevated rank, which he had maintained in the more limited sphere afforded by the councils of his own state. In the discussion of all great questions of public policy, his opinions were promptly and ably expressed. The consistency and decision which had early secured the confidence of his friends, still distinguished him. Several subjects occurred which strongly agitated the public mind, and certainly affected in no small degree the interests and feelings of various portions of the American people; on each of these the views of Mr. VAN BUREN were candidly and eloquently given, and although they who differed with him may dispute their correctness, they were approved by the great mass of those with whom he had always acted on political questions, and whose political principles had in general coincided with his own.

One of the earliest of the discussions, involving principles of policy, was that relative to the protection of domestic manufactures, by imposing high duties on foreign merchandise. On this, his views were stated without reserve, and sustained in many able speeches. He held the establishment of commercial regulations, with a view to the encouragement of our own productions, to be within the constitutional power of congress: but while he entertained that opinion, he was always opposed to such an exercise of the power, as might produce an oppressive inequality upon any portion of our citizens, or be of advantage to one section of the union, at the expense of another; on the contrary, he asserted it was the sacred duty of those who administered the government, so to direct its operations as to distribute equally its burdens and blessings among the several states and the people. These wise and liberal sentiments were made, not unfrequently, topics of accusation in his own state; but while he always gave his vote according to what he believed to be the wishes and instructions of his constituents, holding that to be a cardinal duty of a representative, yet he never ceased to urge conciliation and forbearance, with all the influence he derived from public confidence. In addition to his speeches in the senate, he communicated his sentiments at large to the people, in a masterly address, delivered at a public meeting in Albany, in 1827.

He was early sensible how much the preservation of our union depended upon the exercise of a wise discretion on this point; he saw the mischief of excessive revenue on one hand, and the benefits of a strict economy on the other; and he endeavored to bring about that dispassionate consideration, especially in his own state, which would afford the best guaranty for the interests of all. Undoubtedly his conduct greatly contributed to produce a state of feeling which has since led to the most fortunate results.

The constitutional right of congress to appropriate money, for the construction of improvements in the separate states, had been seriously questioned before Mr. VAN BUREN became a senator; but by degrees the practice had increased, and with its increase became a subject of more controversy and importance. Strongly admiring, and desirous to aid these works, as he had evinced by sustaining the noble efforts of his own state, he was willing to encourage all such as he deemed to be within the sphere of the general government; but he believed that it was neither according to the intent of the constitution, nor wise in policy, to interfere where the power and resources of the states themselves could be legally exercised.

In addition to questions such as these, Mr. VAN BUREN devoted himself specially to many subjects, which, if they involved less of apparent and immediate consequence, were yet of deep and lasting interest. When in the legislature of New York, he had proposed a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud, malicious injury, or gross breaches of trust; and these efforts he renewed for several successive years, till at last a change of sentiment favorable to so wise and benevolent a system was created. When transferred to the senate of the United States, he distinguished himself by his eager coöperation with Colonel Richard M. Johnson, then a senator from Kentucky, in endeavoring to efface from the national code the same provision, and his remarks on the subject were full of ability and eloquence. In behalf of the surviving soldiers of the revolution, he exerted himself with even more than his usual zeal. He spared no effort to obtain the favorable decision of congress upon a bill introduced on their behalf, by a committee of which he was a member. One of his speeches, which has been reported at large, is among the most eloquent as well as the most conclusive ever called forth by that interesting subject from the lips of genius or the heart of patriot gratitude.

After a career, of somewhat less than eight years, thus eminently distinguished, Mr. VAN BUREN was recalled by the citizens of New York to his own state. Having been elected governor, he resigned

his place in the senate, and on the first of January, 1829, entered upon that office. His administration was short, but it was marked by a successful effort to introduce salutary provisions for the independence and security of elections; and still more by at least one measure, among the most striking and important in the financial history of the United States. Every one had become alarmed at the evident insecurity of many of the banking institutions of the state, arising sometimes from fraud, sometimes from imprudence, sometimes perhaps from misfortune, but always most injurious to the community. One of the first acts of the governor was to discover and recommend a remedy for this; and he suggested, in a message to the legislature, the principal provisions and outline of a system, establishing a safety fund, which was afterwards carried into operation, and, thus far at least, as will probably be admitted even by political opponents, with singular benefit to those for whose security it was devised.

He did not however remain in office to witness this result, nor that of the other measures of public utility which he contemplated and proposed. When General Jackson became president of the United States, he immediately nominated Mr. VAN BUREN to the first place in his administration, as secretary of state. This office he accepted, and resigned that of governor. A large portion of each branch of the legislature of New York, consisted at the time of his political opponents; yet such had been his uprightness and ability, that resolutions expressing the highest respect for his virtues and talents, and tendering him, in warm and affectionate terms, the good wishes of the representatives of the people, were in both unanimously passed.

Mr. VAN BUREN repaired to Washington, and on the twelfth of March, 1829, commenced the discharge of his new duties, as secretary of state, under circumstances, in one respect at least, less favorable to their successful prosecution, than any of his distinguished predecessors. Mr. Clay succeeded and served under Mr. Adams, who had himself been eight years at the head of the department. Mr. Adams stood in the same relation to Mr. Monroe, who had occupied the place under Mr. Madison. The latter had himself performed the duties for eight years under Mr. Jefferson. On the contrary, Mr. VAN BUREN entered an administration of which no member had ever occupied a place in the executive branch of the government, and served under a president who was in the same situation. The advantages of commencing the discharge of official duty so important, under the direction of those to whom it had been rendered familiar by experience, must be evident. Mr. VAN BUREN received no aid of this kind. He had to possess

himself of that minute acquaintance with the actual condition of our foreign affairs, which is indispensable to a correct management of the department, by a laborious examination of its archives; and, once become master of these, he devoted himself to its business with the same system and industry that he had displayed in every previous public station. The records of his administration will show, that at no previous period of the government was there as much official labor performed in the same time, or successful results to so many negotiations, as during those two years; and even though the credit of this be awarded, as it justly may be in an eminent degree, to the high character, perseverance, and courage of the chief magistrate under whose views of policy Mr. VAN BUREN acted, he is yet entitled to great merit for the talent, fidelity, and zeal he displayed, in assisting to produce these brilliant consequences. The long contested colonial question between the United States and Great Britain, which had been suspended by the preceding administration as hopeless, was resumed, elaborately discussed, and finally adjusted, on terms previously sought by the United States. New negotiations were opened with France, relative to our claims for commercial spoliations, which had existed for more than twenty years, and also to her demand of commercial preferences under the eighth article of the treaty of Louisiana. Both of these were thoroughly investigated under the instructions of Mr. VAN BUREN, and the whole matter settled by treaty, in a manner highly satisfactory, very shortly after he left the department of state. Denmark had presented her ultimatum in respect to similar claims of our citizens, which had not been accepted; negotiation was resumed under new instructions, and an adjustment effected by which an indemnity, nearly fourfold larger than that previously offered, was secured. Spain had positively refused redress for her depredations upon our commerce, and so pertinaciously adhered to her system of discrimination, that all negotiation on the subject had ceased; the question however was again opened under new and very full instructions from Mr. VAN BUREN; the matter was ably and vigorously prosecuted by his successor; a satisfactory indemnity was secured: and notwithstanding the proverbial repugnance of the Spanish government to make any change in its commercial policy, it was induced to consent to an abolition of discriminating duties, and to the adoption of the regulations offered by the United States to all nations. Indemnity was obtained from Portugal for depredations upon our commerce, and she consented to repeal the prohibitory duties which she had for a long time imposed upon our rice, in favor of that of

Brazil. Efforts, commenced by Mr. Jefferson and continued through the succeeding administrations, to place our trade with the Levant on a favorable and permanent footing, and to secure a passage for our shipping to the Black Sea, were revived, and a treaty concluded with Turkey, which has given stability and prosperity to our commerce, in that interesting portion of the world. A negotiation opened by the preceding administration with Austria was brought to a satisfactory conclusion by a commercial treaty. For many years it had been an object to form a commercial treaty with Russia, and repeated attempts to do so had been made; these were renewed: a minister was despatched to that country with instructions in which the whole subject was fully examined; and the views of the United States were communicated without reserve. Through adverse circumstances, this effort failed of success at the time; but when Mr. Livingston succeeded Mr. VAN BUREN, he renewed it with complete success. With Mexico our affairs were found to be in the worst condition. The ratification of a treaty already concluded had been suspended in the Mexican congress; jealousies and suspicions of an aggravated nature had been excited against us; and such was the position of affairs, that the respect guarantied to the diplomatic character, was actually violated in the person of our minister. A new minister was despatched to Mexico; the injustice and impolicy of her course were strongly and unreservedly pointed out; and difficulties, which threatened an immediate rupture, were removed in such a manner, as to uphold our dignity and rights, and place the relations of the two nations on the best footing of which they were susceptible. With the republic of Colombia similar difficulties had arisen. The head of that government had become impressed with the belief that we were unfriendly to his country and to himself, and this feeling had been communicated to his official associates. Its effects were seen in the unfriendly temper manifested towards our minister, in a refusal to listen to the just claims of our citizens, and in the imposition of prohibitory duties on flour, our chief export to that part of South America. A minister was sent with full instructions prepared by Mr. VAN BUREN on all these subjects, and his mission was attended with complete success. Good feeling was restored, the American claims were in a great degree adjusted, the exorbitant duties on flour were reduced to the standard proposed by our government, and the most liberal relations in all respects established. This series of most interesting and important arrangements, relative to the foreign intercourse of his country, so successfully conducted by Mr. VAN BUREN, in an administration of but two years' duration, is a proof of

political industry, sagacity, and talent, not surpassed in our history; and when the feelings which seem unavoidably to spring from the collisions and rivalry of parties shall have been forgotten, his claims to the respect and gratitude of his country for the able and faithful performance of this branch of official duty, will be generally and cheerfully acknowledged.

Having thus administered this important and laborious department for about two years, Mr. VAN BUREN determined to retire from that honorable trust. In June, 1831, he resigned the office of secretary of state, with the reluctant consent of the president, by whom he was soon after appointed minister to Great Britain. In thus leaving the cabinet, he abandoned without hesitation the advantages which, as a political leader, he derived from that elevated position; but believing that circumstances, personal to himself and which he could not otherwise control, rendered such a step beneficial to the influence and prospects of an administration whose measures and principles he approved, and had hitherto sustained, he at once made the voluntary and certainly unexpected sacrifice. He did not receive the appointment to England, separating him as it did from his own country, and especially from his own state, which had so often honored him, without some hesitation; but our minister there being already recalled, his own acquaintance with existing negotiations, and with the views of the administration on several open and important questions, resulting from the last war, made the president desirous that he should accept it. To these views he assented, and in August, 1831, sailed for England. On his arrival there, he was received by the government with that favor and distinction to which the high offices he had previously held gave him, perhaps, more than usual claims; and he commenced under the best auspices the interesting negotiations which he believed would be, if successful, as useful to his country as honorable to himself. While thus employed abroad, his nomination was submitted by the president at home to the senate for their constitutional advice and consent; his political opponents were at that time a majority, and after protracted debates and delays, they negatived the appointment by the casting vote of the vice-president, on the twenty sixth of January, 1832.

In consequence of this event, Mr. VAN BUREN returned home, and of course was received by his numerous friends, who approved of his public conduct, and admired his political principles and private character, with the zeal, confidence, and affection which the circumstances were calculated to excite. As the period for electing a president and vice-president of the United States was at hand, he was immediately

nominated to the latter office by the convention which selected General Jackson, a second time, as the candidate for the former. In November following, he was elected by a large majority; on the fourth of March, 1833, he took the oath of office; and in December of the same year, entered on his public duties as president of the senate. His address on that occasion elicited the applause of all parties, and was rendered the more conspicuous and honorable, by the interesting associations connected with his rejection by the body over which he was thus called to preside. The nature of his office had now removed him in a great degree from the active public exertions required by those he had previously held; but as the official head of the senate, he merited and received the approbation of his political opponents as well as of his friends, by the simplicity and kindness of his personal deportment, and his uniform and careful attention to the duties of the chair. His term of service expired on the fourth of March, 1837; but it having been ascertained the preceding year that President Jackson, following the example of his predecessors, would then retire from public life, a numerous body of delegates, representing the democratic party of the Union, assembled at Baltimore in the month of June, 1835, and unanimously presented him to the people of the United States, as a candidate for the chief executive office.

The wishes of Mr. VAN BUREN'S friends in connection with the presidency were fully gratified. It was known that his nomination had the cordial approbation of General Jackson, whose approval, indeed was so ardent, that he openly and warmly advocated his election. The day of trial gave him a handsome triumph in the electoral colleges. He was inaugurated as president of the United States, with all the usual honors, and with more than usual splendor, on the 4th of March, 1837. The day was uncommonly brilliant for the season, which added both to the immense assembly, and to the means of enjoyment on an event which always calls forth the highest patriotism of our country.

The period of Mr. VAN BUREN'S elevation to the presidential chair was one of almost unprecedented prosperity. He found the treasury overflowing, and the credit of the federal government, as well as its finances, were in the most flourishing condition; the states and the commercial cities of the Union were proceeding in a career of enterprise altogether unparalelled; and so striking was all this that General Jackson had on retiring from the chair, congratulated the country, that he left his office while all was prosperous and happy. The measures of the preceding administration had determined the line

of policy to be pursued by the party in power, so that Mr. VAN BUREN had not to incur the responsibility of any new acts with which to signalize or endanger the success of his administration. But alas, a few months changed this apparent prosperity into a dense and universal gloom. The credit system, so important, when under a healthy control, to the welfare of the country, had been expanded to an undue extent; partly as the result of the expiration of the charter of the United States Bank, and partly to the transference of the business of the treasury to the banks of the several states. These things had greatly increased the number of banks, fictitious capital was created, and at length, in 1837, the very same year in which the new president entered on his office, the whole machinery fell into pieces, and a general suspension of cash payments took place in connection with all the banks of the United States. Mr. VAN BUREN thereupon recommended a radical change in the fiscal operations of the federal government, separating the government from all dependence on banks, and providing that at the end of three years all payments to the government should be made in gold and silver. The subject was universally and warmly agitated, and before the plan was fully tried, the period arrived for a new election, and on the fourth of March, 1841, Mr. VAN BUREN was succeeded by General Harrison, and he soon after retired to his beautiful estate at Kinderhook, there to enjoy his wealth, his ease, and the respect and confidence of a very large and powerful party of his countrymen. At the age of seventy, he cannot be expected again to wield the sword of political power.

Mr. VAN BUREN married in 1806, Miss Hannah Goes, a young lady of amiable character, whom twelve years afterwards he was called to surrender to the grave. She was the mother of four sons, who rose to bless their parentage, and to adorn society. In person the ex-president is about the middle height; his figure has been remarkably erect and graceful; the expression of his countenance, as seen in our portrait taken some twenty years since, is animated, and his head is large and well formed. His manners are marked by the ease and affability which spring from an amiable disposition, and a long acquaintance with the world; his moral character is unsullied by the slightest reproach, and his domestic affections have always been maintained in the utmost sincerity, purity, and warmth.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was born at Berkley, the family seat of his father, on James river, twenty-five miles from Richmond, Virginia, in the year 1773. He was the youngest of three sons of Benjamin Harrison, a descendant of the celebrated leader of the same name in the wars of Cromwell. Benjamin Harrison acted a conspicuous part in our own revolutionary struggle, and was one of the most active of that daring band who set the ball in motion. He represented Virginia in congress in the years 1774, '75, and '76; he was urged by a strong party in the house to preside over that body, on the resignation of his brother-in-law, Peyton Randolph; but he declined the distinction, and nominated John Hancock. It has been stated on contemporary authority, that he almost carried that modest but daring patriot into the chair, on his at first declining to occupy it. He was chairman of the committee of the whole house when the Declaration of Independence was agreed to, and was one of the illustrious signers of that act. He was afterwards a member of the house of delegates in the legislature of Virginia, and filled the office of speaker until 1782, when he succeeded Governor Nelson in the executive chair of that state.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was placed, at an early age, at the college of Hampden Sydney, which he left at the age of seventeen, his mind well imbued with classical literature, and deeply impressed with admiration of the principles of republican Greece and Rome. In obedience to the wishes of his father, whose hospitable and liberal conduct through life prevented him from promising wealth to his son, he entered on the study of medicine; and after a short preparatory course he repaired, in the spring of 1791, to Philadelphia, to prosecute his studies with greater advantage. The death of his distinguished parent, immediately after his arrival, checked his professional aspirations; and the "note of preparation" which was sounding through the country, for a campaign against the Indians of the west, decided his destiny. He resolved to enter into the service of his government, and

to create a name for himself worthy of his father. His guardian, the celebrated Robert Morris, opposed his wishes with all the eloquence of his great mind; but it was in vain that he placed the enterprise before the enthusiastic youth in all its hardships and privations. In order to deter him from his project, he painted an Indian war in a remote and untried wilderness in the darkest colors; he spoke of victory, against such foes, as not involving glory; but of defeat, as insuring disgrace. The remonstrances of his friend and guardian were fruitless, and General Washington at length yielded to the importunities of the youth; he presented him with an ensign's commission. With characteristic ardor he departed for Fort Washington, now Cincinnati; where, however, he arrived too late to participate in the unfortunate campaign. The fatal 4th of November had passed, and he was only in time to learn the earliest intelligence of the death of Butler, and of Oldham, and of the unparalleled massacre of the army of St. Clair.

The return of the broken troops had no effect in damping the zeal of young HARRISON. He devoted himself ardently to the study of the theory of the higher tactics; his education gave him advantages possessed by few young soldiers of that day; and when, in the succeeding year, the gallant Wayne assumed the command, Ensign HARRISON was immediately noticed by this experienced commander, and selected by him for one of his aids. The judicious movements of the new army, and the success which crowned the campaign under Wayne, are a brilliant portion of our history. HARRISON distinguished himself handsomely in the affair of *Roche de Bouc*, and his chief did him the justice to name him specially in the official report of the engagement.

After the treaty of Greenville, 1795, Captain HARRISON was left in command of Fort Washington; and shortly after the departure of General Wayne for the Atlantic states, he married the daughter of Judge Symmes, the proprietor of the Miami purchase. The writer of this brief sketch cannot let the opportunity slip, without offering a passing tribute to the virtues of this estimable woman. She is distinguished for her benevolence and her piety; all who know her, view her with esteem and affection; and her whole course through life, in all its relations, has been characterized by those qualifications that complete the character of an accomplished matron.

The idleness and dissipation of a garrison life comported neither with the taste nor active temper of Captain HARRISON. He resigned his commission, and commenced his civil career, at the age of twenty-four years, as secretary of the north-western territory. His capacity

was soon noticed by the leaders in the new territory, and he was elected, in 1799, the first delegate in congress for that extensive region, now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the territory of Michigan. The first and general object of his attention as a representative, was an alteration of the land system of the territory. The law, as it then existed, ordained that not less than four thousand acres, (except in particular cases of fractions on the banks of rivers,) could be sold at once. The operation of such an ordinance must have been fatal to that class of population, whose industry and labor have since caused the country to advance with such rapid strides to wealth and greatness; it was alone calculated to benefit the speculator and rich monopolist. He was appointed chairman of the committee on lands, (the only instance, it is believed, in the history of our legislation, in which a delegate was so distinguished,) and with the aid of the able men who coöperated with him, he presented the celebrated Land Report, based on his own previous motion. A bill was framed, and after undergoing some amendments in the senate, was passed into a law, by which one half of the public lands were divided into sections of six hundred and forty acres, and the other into half sections of three hundred and twenty acres. The old system of forfeiture for non payment was abolished, and payment ordered to be made, one fourth in hand, and the balance at the end of two, three, and four years, allowing still one year, after the expiration of the fourth year, to enable the purchaser to extricate himself, if necessary. This was a point gained, although it was not all the delegate contended for. To this measure is to be imputed the rapid settlement of the country; and if Mr. Harrison had then been called from this world, without rendering any other service to his country, he would richly have merited the title of benefactor of the territory north-west of the Ohio.

The reputation acquired by the young delegate from his legislative success, created a party in his favor, who intimated a desire that he should supersede the venerable governor of the territory. But Mr. Harrison checked the development of this feeling as soon as it was made known to him. He cherished too high a veneration for the pure and patriotic St. Clair; he had too just an estimate of the splendid talents of the governor, and too much sympathy for the war-worn, though sometimes unfortunate hero, to sanction an attempt, which, whether successful or not, would have inflicted one more pang in the bosom of the veteran. A soldier can best feel for a soldier; he declined the interference of his friends, and the subject was dropped. But when, shortly after, Indiana was erected into a separate territory

he was appointed by Mr. Adams the first governor. Previously, however, to quitting congress, he was present at the discussion of the bill for the settlement of Judge Symmes's purchase; and although this gentleman was his father-in-law, he took an active part in favor of those individuals who had purchased from him before he had obtained his patent. It was viewed as a matter of doubt, whether those who had sued the judge in the courts of common law, would be entitled to the remedy in equity against him. He went before the committee in person, and urged them to insert a provision in their favor. Nor did he desist until assured by the attorney-general and Mr. Harper, that these persons came fully under the provisions of the act as it then stood. This was the impulse of stern duty; for at the moment he was thus engaged, he considered himself as jeoparding a large pecuniary interest of his father-in-law.

In 1801, Governor HARRISON entered upon the duties of his new office at the old military post of Vincennes. The powers with which he was vested by law have never, since the organization of our government, been conferred upon any other officer,* civil or military; and the arduous character of the duties he had to perform, can only be appreciated by those who are acquainted with the savage and cunning temper of the north-western Indians; with the genius of the early pioneers, and the nature of a frontier settlement. The dangers of such actions as the battle of Tippecanoe, the defence of Fort Meigs, and the battle of the Thames, are appreciated and felt by all; and the victories which were consequent upon them have crowned the victors with a never fading wreath: but these acts, brilliant as they were, fade when put in comparison with the unremitting labor and exposure to which, for many years after the organization of the first grade of territorial government, the new executive was exposed. The whole territory consisted of three settlements, so widely separated that it was impossible for them to contribute to their mutual defence or encouragement. The first was Clarke's Grant at the falls of Ohio; the second, the old French establishment at Vincennes; and the third extended from Kaskaskia to Kahokia, on the Mississippi; the whole comprising a population of about five thousand souls. The territory thus defenceless, presented a frontier, assailable almost at every point, on the north-east, north, and north-west boundaries. Numerous tribes of warlike Indians were thickly scattered throughout the northern por

* Among his duties was that of commissioner to treat with the Indians. In this capacity he concluded fifteen treaties, and purchased their title to upwards of seventy millions of acres of land.

tion of the territory, and far beyond its limits, whose hostile feelings were constantly inflamed by the intrigues of British agents and traders, if not by the immediate influence of the English government itself, and not unfrequently by the uncontrollable outrages of the American hunters themselves; a circumstance which it always has bee found impossible to prevent, in the early settlement of the west. Governor HARRISON applied himself with characteristic energy and skill. It seems truly miraculous to us, when we look back to the early history of his government, that he should have been able to keep down Indian invasion in the infant state of the territory, seeing the great capacity the savages displayed for harassing him at a period when his resources and means had so much increased. The fact proclaims loudly the talents of the chief. Justice tempered by mildness; conciliation and firmness, accompanied by a never slumbering watchfulness; were the means he used. These enabled him to surmount difficulties, under which an ordinary capacity must have been prostrated. The voluminous correspondence of Governor HARRISON with Mr. Jefferson, from 1802 till 1809, is a recorded testimony of the ability and success of his administration.

During the year 1811, however, the intrigues of British agents operating on the passions of the Indians, brought affairs to a crisis which rendered hostilities unavoidable. Tecumseh, and his prophet brother, had been laboring unceasingly, since 1805, to bring about this result. HARRISON called upon Colonel Boyd of the 4th United States regiment, then at Pittsburgh (who immediately joined him), and embodied a militia force as strong as the emergency would permit. To these were added a small but gallant band of chivalrous volunteers from Kentucky, consisting of about sixty-five individuals. With these he commenced his march towards the prophet's town at Tippecanoe. On the sixth of November he arrived in sight of the Indian village, and in obedience to his orders made several fruitless attempts to negotiate with the savages. Finding it impossible to bring them to any discussion, he resolved to encamp for the night, under a promise from the chiefs to hold a conference next day. He sent forward Brigade Major Clarke, and Major Wallet Taylor, to select a proper position for the encampment. These officers shortly after returned, and reported that they had found a situation well calculated for the purpose, and on examination, the commander approved of it. Subsequent examination has proved that the ground was admirably adapted to baffle the success of a sudden attack, the only kind which the great experience of HARRISON assured him would be attempted. The men reposed upon the

spot which each, individually, should occupy, in case of attack. The event justified the anticipations of the chief. On the morning of the 7th, before daylight, the onset was made with the usual yells and impetuosity. But the army was ready; HARRISON had risen some time before, and had roused the officers near him. Our limits do not permit us to enter into a detail of the action; the arrangement of the troops was masterly, and showed the well educated and experienced soldier. The Indians fought with their usual desperation, and maintained their ground for some time with extraordinary courage. Victory declared in favor of discipline, at the expense, however, of some of the most gallant spirits of the age. Among the slain were Colonels Daveis and Owen of Kentucky, and Captain Spencer of Indiana. Governor HARRISON received a bullet through his stock, without touching his neck. The legislature of Kentucky, at its next session, whilst in mourning for her gallant dead, passed the following resolution, viz:

"*Resolved*, That Governor WILLIAM H. HARRISON has behaved like a hero, a patriot, and general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skilful, and gallant conduct, in the battle of Tippecanoe, he well deserves the thanks of the nation."

From this period, until after the declaration of war against England, Governor HARRISON was unremittingly engaged in negotiating with the Indians, and preparing to resist a more extended attack from them. In August, 1812, he received the brevet of major general in the Kentucky militia, to enable him to command the forces marching to relieve Detroit. He immediately applied himself to the proper organization of his army on the north-western frontier. The surrender of Hull changed the face of affairs; he was appointed a major general in the army of the United States, and his duties embraced a larger sphere. Every thing was in confusion, and every thing was to be done; money, arms, and men were to be raised. It is under circumstances like these that the talents of a great general are developed more powerfully than in conducting a battle. To do justice to this part of the biography of HARRISON requires a volume of itself. Becoming stronger from reverses, collecting munitions of war, and defending Fort Meigs, were the prominent features of his operations, until we find him in pursuit of Proctor on the Canadian shore. On the 5th of October, 1813, he brought the British army and their Indian allies, under Proctor and Tecumseh, to action, near the river Thames. The victory achieved by militia over the disciplined troops of England, on this brilliant day, was decisive; and like the battle of the Cowpens in the war of the Revolution, spread joy and animation over the whole Union. For this

important action congress presented General HARRISON with a gold medal. The success of the day is mainly attributable to the novel expedient of charging through the British lines with mounted infantry. The glory of originating this manœuvre belongs exclusively to General HARRISON.*

The north-western frontier being relieved, and important aid given to that of Niagara, General HARRISON left his troops at Sacket's Harbor, under the command of Colonel Smith, and departed for Washington by the way of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. On the whole route he was received with enthusiasm, and honored with the highest marks of distinction that can be offered to a citizen by a republican people.

Owing to a misunderstanding between Mr. Secretary Armstrong and himself, General HARRISON resigned his commission in the spring of 1814. Mr. Madison sincerely deplored this step, and assured Governor Shelby, in a letter written immediately after the resignation, "that it would not have been accepted had he been in Washington." It was received and accepted by Secretary Armstrong, while the president was absent at the Springs.

General HARRISON retired to his farm at North Bend, in Ohio, from which he was successively called by the people, to represent them in the congress of the United States, and in the legislature of the state. In 1824–5, he was elected to the senate of the United States; and in 1828, he was appointed minister to Colombia, which station he held until he was recalled by President Jackson, not for any alleged fault, but in consequence of some difference of views on the Panama question. General HARRISON again returned to the pursuits of agriculture at North Bend. In 1834, on the almost unanimous petition of the citizens of the county, he was appointed prothonotary of the court of Hamilton county, which office he attended to in person.

The frosts of age were now gathering on his head, but the claims of a large family demanded vigorous efforts for their benefit; and there seemed a probability that he might yet gain the property which he had been too honest hitherto to accumulate, even when many other public servants would have done it. But in the year 1836, the eyes of not a few of his countrymen were fixed on him as the future president of the Union. He then received seventy-two electoral votes, and at the Whig Convention in Harrisburg, December, 1839, General

* This claim must not be considered as in the least detracting from the merit of Colonel Johnson, by whom the mounted men were led to the charge, and by whom the manœuvre was successfully and gallantly executed.—ED.

HARRISON received the unanimous nomination of that body as the Whig candidate for the presidency; and after a contest more animated and more general than any which had before occurred, he received two hundred and thirty-four of the two hundred and ninety-four votes given in the twenty-six states.

General HARRISON was now sixty-eight years of age; and his elevation to the presidency diffused a general joy over the nation. His progress from his residence, the log cabin—to the White house at Washington, was marked by the most gratifying demonstrations of popular affection and confidence. His immediate family remained in Ohio, intending to follow him in the ensuing summer; but, alas, how were they doomed to disappointment. On the 4th of March, 1841, his inauguration was attended by a multitude far greater than had ever before assembled at Washington, many thousands of whom heard his address, which was pronounced in a remarkably clear and distinct voice. This composition, though not marked by any extraordinary ability as a literary performance, was of a character and tone as greatly to strengthen his hold on the affections of the people; and he entered on the duties of his office, knowing that from the moment he was nominated to the station he had been rising in public esteem, that he was now exceedingly popular, and that the promise of the future was all brightness.

But how soon was that brightness converted into darkness and gloom! On the first of the following month he became indisposed, and called in medical aid. His disease, it was soon found, baffled the skill of the physicians, and so rapidly did his enfeebled frame sink under it, that at half past twelve on the morning of the 4th of April, one short month after his elevation to the presidential chair, he sunk, calmly into the sleep of death. The last words he uttered were characteristic of his life, and breathed the devotion of the patriot's heart for the good of his beloved country; they were—"MY LAST WISH, IS THAT THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF THE GOVERNMENT MAY BE CARRIED OUT!—I ASK NOTHING MORE."

He was the first president of the United States who died in office, and his death was regarded as a most calamitous event. The members of his cabinet in their notification of the fact, truly said,—"The people of the United States, overwhelmed, like ourselves, by an event so unexpected and so melancholy, will derive consolation from knowing that his death was calm and resigned, as his life had been patriotic, useful, and distinguished." His funeral presented a most imposing scene of intense sorrow and of solemn grandeur.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH, LL. D.

No country nas been so distinguished as our own by the numoer and prominence of its self-made men. In science, they have been her pioneers, disarming even the lightning of its terror; in prosperity, they have been the guardians of her dearest treasures; in the hour of danger they have gathered, as the Macedonian phalanx, to her side.

The subject of this memoir was not born in obscurity, or compelled to struggle with poverty and ignorance on his passage to renown. Yet he was strictly of that number who, in the "baptism of fame, have given themselves their own name;" and for whom industry and internal resource have stood in the place of parentage and of patrimony.

He sprang, as have many of our mightiest and noblest, from the hardy yeomanry of New England. If he was indebted to education for his greatness, he was still more indebted to patient labor; as the firmly-rooted oak owes less to culture, than to its power of enduring those changes of climate which roughen its trunk but reveal its energy.

Oliver Ellsworth was born in Windsor, one of the most anciently settled towns in Connecticut, on the 29th of April, 1745, of respectable parents, inured to the pursuits of agriculture. From them he derived the virtues of industry, economy, and integrity, which were incorporated with the elements of his character. He derived also physical benefits from a system of nurture which rejected all luxurious indulgence. Of him it might be said, as it was of Chief Justice Marshall, that "his health was invigorated by the athletic exercises to which his father inured him." Perhaps, also, from some sternness of parental discipline, which was often a feature of these early times, his mind drew a portion of its Spartan firmness. His boyhood was so divided between agricultural toils and classical studies, as to impress the invaluable lessons of the worth of time and the necessity of application.

At the age of seventeen he entered Yale College, whence he afterwards removed to Princeton, and received there his honorary degree at the completion of his twenty-first year. It is not known that his academic course exhibited any remarkable superiority. Precocity was not a feature of his mind. The slow ripening of its powers betokened a deep root and long-continued harvest.

After terminating his collegiate studies, he engaged in the instruction of youth, that most honorable employment to which so many of our greatest men have for a time devoted themselves. Though surrounded by gay companions, he was enabled to resist their influence, and make choice of that piety which was to be his guide on the slippery heights of honor, and his strength amid the feebleness of hoary hairs. It laid its strong foundation at that momentous period when youth is most tempted to contend with the restrictions of morality and to forget God. His clear-sighted and majestic mind acknowledged the truth of revelation, and humbled itself at the foot of the cross with child-like simplicity. His public profession of a Christian's faith, made when religion was less fashionable than it is at present, gave proof of that fearless integrity in duty which is an element of true greatness. He had a predilection for Theology, and made respectable progress in its preparatory studies; but ultimately decided on the profession of law.

His marriage was early in life, and the result of mutual attachment. The lady, who was of the highly-respected family of the Wolcotts, by her unwearied and judicious attention to domestic care, left his mind at liberty for higher departments. They became the parents of nine children, six of whom survived him, connected with the aristocracy of their native State.

At the commencement of his household establishment, he found himself thrown upon his own resources. A farm of wild land in the parish of Wintonbury, and an axe, were the gifts of his father, with the understanding that they completed his full moiety of the paternal estate. But as the shield given by the Spartan mothers to their sons, with the charge, "return *with* it or return *upon* it," enkindled an indomitable courage; so the consciousness of entire self-dependence awoke a spirit which was to conquer all obstacles. In those rough preliminary toils, by which land is cleared and subjected to cultivation, he performed the service of a day-laborer, and at night pursued those studies by which his future eminence was to be attained. The materials with which the fences of his farm were to be constructed he wrought with his own hands from the trees that grew upon it, nor re-

mitted this branch of labor until it was completely enclosed. With hands swollen by unaccustomed effort, and painful from the wounds of thorns with which he contended, he came every morning during the session of the courts, to Hartford, returning at night to take charge of his cattle, and to sustain the imperative duties of an agriculturist. In this union of differing and difficult professions he evinced great mental vigor and physical endurance. It is impossible to view the future Chief Justice of the United States at this period of his existence without peculiar and touching interest. At dawn, like Cincinnatus, at his plough, and at eve laying his hand on the mighty fabric of jurisprudence, as if, like the chosen people, he followed the "pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night."

It would seem that no ambition of distinction had at this time stimulated his career. Perhaps his mind was not fully aware of its own Herculean powers. Its moving principle had been the simple consciousness of duty,—a desire to provide for a growing family, and to be found faithful in the stewardship of entrusted time and talents.

During a period of extreme exertion, while sustaining a difficult cause at the bar in Hartford, he received a new incentive—the voice of praise. "Who is that young man? He speaks well." These were the words of a stranger. They sank into his heart. As he went homeward, he ruminated upon them. "*He speaks well.*" It was a new idea to him. Vanity was not inherent to an intellect of his order, but the sweetness of merited praise came when it began to be needed as an encouragement on its arduous course. Of this incident he spoke, even in his latest years, to his children. It would be interesting, were it possible to discover who thus touched with electric spark that mighty mind, and aided in developing its latent force.

The increase of his business imposed the necessity of a removal to Hartford. There he received the lucrative office of States' attorney, and was yearly elected representative to the general assembly. At the commencement of the war of the Revolution he took firm ground in favor of the independence of the country. He even went out with the militia of the county when incursions were made by the enemy into his native State. This he did, not from any complacency in military life, but to show his approbation of the cause for which resistance was hazarded. In 1777 he was chosen a delegate to Congress; in 1784 a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut; and in 1789 a senator of the United States, under their new confederation. His talents as a man, and his learning as a jurist, were now put in strict requisition for the public good. The system of policy which he advocated was

dignified and consistent. Avoidance of useless expenditure, prompt execution of the laws, an open and severe simplicity, were its distinguishing features. The regimen that promotes the health of republics was well understood by him. It was the same which, as an individual, he had pursued with safety and success.

His mind had the capacity of intense and stern application. Never was this more fully tested than during those seven years when he filled a seat in the senate of the United States. So deep was his love of country, that when any important point, involving her interests, was in discussion, he has been known to pass the whole night traversing his chamber, and repelling sleep, until he had possessed himself of the subject in all its bearings. With such forgetfulness of self did he tax his energies, that after the termination of such questions he would be left exhausted, as after some extreme physical exertion.

It was remarked, that from these labors in the senate his mind evidently gained breadth and expansion. As the period of his continuance there extended beyond his fiftieth year, an argument is thus obtained to disprove the theory that rigidity settles upon intellect as upon the muscles, and that age may limit its improvement as easily as to chain the limbs from their elastic play.

In the spring of 1796 he received the appointment of Chief Justice of the United States. It was the universal suffrage of the nation that there was in him a fitness for the high honor of a place in that body, which, like the ancient Ephori, lifted the supremacy of the law above all other symbols of earthly majesty. In the discharge of the duties of this elevated station he displayed an immoveable patience, and a judgment of men and things matured by long experience. His clear conceptions of right and wrong were never confused by a heated imagination or morbid feelings. He was slow in arriving at the truth, but in his decisions inflexible. His impartiality won the confidence of all; and throughout his whole judicial career, his integrity remained untarnished and above suspicion.

It was with reluctance that the nation saw him about to be withdrawn from a post where she was hourly deriving benefits from his wisdom, to assume the office of ambassador to France. But a crisis in our political intercourse with that kingdom, involving danger of hostilities, required peculiar skill in negotiation, and he was appointed, in conjunction with Governor Davie of North Carolina, and the Hon. William V. Murray, then resident minister at the Hague. This was a nomination which he would not have desired; and though his patriotism induced him to acquiesce, it was at an expense of health from

which he never fully recovered. Physical infirmities, which before his departure had revealed themselves, became confirmed by the hardships of a protracted voyage and the fatigues of foreign travel, into incurable diseases.

It was at the close of the year 1799 that he took passage to Europe. He found the government of France, then under the consulship of Bonaparte, unsettled and fluctuating. Duplicity and intrigue gave coloring to its diplomacy. His upright mind, severe in rectitude, found there little congeniality. Its earnestness for the right, and its strict morality, were even marked as traits of imbecility, by a cabinet whose pole-star was expediency.

After concluding the business entrusted to him, he passed over into England, and experienced high gratification from a view of that glorious island, and an acquaintance with its illustrious men. He was accompanied on his travels in Europe by his eldest son, a promising youth, whose unremitting devotion to his collegiate studies had seriously impaired his health. It was difficult, even by the excitement and novelty of foreign cities, to divert his attention from books. He received, therefore, but slight benefit from change of scene; and his death, which took place soon after his return, while making trial of the more genial climate of the West Indies, was a deep affliction to the affectionate father.

An incident connected with his return from Europe, shows the place that religion habitually held in his soul. He had resigned the office of Chief Justice of the United States, that he might devote the remainder of his life to that retirement and domestic tranquillity from which he had been so long an exile. His arrival at his home was therefore anticipated with an eagerness proportioned to his long absence, and to the cheering hope of retaining him there. At his beautiful mansion in Windsor all was joyful expectancy. His children listened to the echo of every approaching wheel, and saddened at perceiving that it had not brought their father. At length his own carriage was indeed descried. The whole family group hastened forth to welcome him. Wife, and son, and daughter, and servant born in his house, were there. It was a thrilling moment. The profound statesman, whose wealth and fame had been purchased by no sacrifice of virtue, wearied with those services which had rendered his name illustrious, was coming to share the repose of his native shades, and to be parted from them no more. He alighted from his carriage. But he spoke not to his wife. He returned not the embrace of his children. He glanced not even at his twin boys, the youngest of that beloved circle.

Leaning over his gate, and covering his face, he first silently breathed a prayer of gratitude to that Being who gave him once more to see his habitation in safety and in peace. He took not the full cup of joy that was pressed to his lips until it had been hallowed by devotion, until he had humbly, yet openly, acknowledged the God who had "led him all his life long, to that day."

His resolution to abstain from all public service in future, he found it impossible perfectly to maintain. The urgent solicitations of the people, combining with a patriotism which never slumbered, induced him, in 1802, to accept the office of member of the Council of Connecticut, in which he continued till his death. In 1807 he received the appointment of Chief Justice of his native State; but his increasing infirmities led him to decline the offered honor.

The leisure to which he had been for many years a stranger, enabled him to cultivate domestic enjoyment, and to recur, as an occasional amusement, to agricultural occupation. His ardent affections found delight in the society of his children. The love of children had always been one of his prominent traits of character. From the chicanery and selfishness of mankind, he turned with renewed pleasure to their simplicity. It was remarked of him in early life, that when deeply engaged in those absorbing studies which afterwards won for him fortune and renown, he daily spent some time in caressing his neighbor's children. He even seemed disappointed when any circumstance prevented this accustomed intercourse. Though there were long periods in which he was compelled to seclude himself from the pleasures of the domestic circle, yet he would sometimes permit his own little ones to enter his study when occupied in the severest toils of thought, and draw pictures for their amusement. "I like to indulge them in this way," he observed; "and when it is necessary to deny them, I send them to their mother."

As they advanced in age, their improvement, and the formation of their habits, were felt by him in their full importance. The incalculable worth of time, the duty of industry, the folly of extravagance, the necessity of rectitude and piety, were impressed both by precept and example. In his letters, when absent from them, his rules for conduct and principle were expressed with striking adaptation to their difference of age or character. His family letters, notwithstanding the magnitude and pressure of public business, were exhibitions of correct and beautiful chirography. In one of these, addressed to his wife, while a senator in the first Congress convened at New-York, in 1789, he says:—

"The family in which I live have no white children. But I often amuse myself with a colored one about the size of our little daughter, who peeps into my door now and then, with a long story, which I cannot more than half understand. Our two sons I sometimes fancy that I pick out among the little boys playing at marbles in the street. Our eldest daughter is, I trust, alternately employed, between her book and her wheel. *You* must teach her what is useful, *the world* will teach her enough of what is not. The nameless little one I am hardly enough acquainted with to have much idea of; yet I think she occupies a corner of my heart, especially when I consider her at your breast."

Alluding to the death of an infant, several years after the event had taken place, he says, in a letter to his wife:—"He who bore your countenance and my name—the world has never been the same to me since his death."

These traits of household tenderness are peculiarly delightful in great men. Perhaps we unconsciously associate with them some idea of sternness, and are cheered when we find them linked to our common nature by its gentler sympathies. In tracing to their familiar sources the warm current of his affections, we find that neither the toils of an absorbing profession, the tumults of political life, nor the cares of greatness, made him insensible to the enjoyments of the fireside, indifferent to the innocent sports of infancy, or regardless of the humble happiness of childhood.

His long intercourse with men of education and rank created no contempt for the rustic society and conversation of a retired country village. He knew how to demean himself to men of low degree. His was that simple moral greatness, which never fears to demean itself by association with inferiors. He especially pitied those in a state of servitude. He treated them with a kindness and sympathy that won their confidence without diminishing their respect. He felt that in a republic the grades of distinction ought not to be jealously defined. His dignity had no need of the petty props of haughtiness and reserve.

Mingled with his high intellectual endowments, was a clear and direct common sense. This kept him from mistake in the every-day affairs of life, where sometimes the greatest men have been so much at a loss, as to subject themselves to the scoffs of the vulgar, and even to bring greatness into disrepute among the multitude. He was thoroughly and practically acquainted with many of those details which wealth seldom understands and often despises. This was remarked with wonder during his tour through the southern States. There, in

the court-yard of a public house, when the stage-coach had sustained same injury, the inquiry was once made, "Who is that gentleman who understands every thing, and is *eloquent about a coach-wheel?*" "The Chief Justice of the United States," was the reply.

His example before his household was calculated to impress the importance of that religion which he revered and loved. Guests occasionally present at their morning and evening devotions, were solemnized by the fervor and sublimity of his prayers. He inculcated on all under his roof a reverence for the sabbath; and was in the habit of gathering them around him, and reading them a sermon, in addition to the public worship of the day. During the changes of an eventful life, the fluctuations of revolution, the interruptions incidental to high office, the gaiety of the court of France, and the desultory habits imposed by foreign travel, he never overlooked the sacred obligation of the sabbath, or shunned to give infidelity a "reason for the hope that was in him."

As he approached the close of life, the Inspired Volume, which had from youth been his guide and counsellor, became more and more dear. Like a new book, it revealed to him unknown treasures. It was both affecting and sublime, to see one who had attained such eminence in the knowledge of human laws, sitting at the feet of the Supreme Lawgiver with the docility of a child. Day and night, while he stood on the verge of a higher existence, did his soul, disengaging itself from earthly things, search the scriptures of truth with solemnity and delight. His last illness was sustained with the fortitude of a Christian; and his death took place on the 26th of November, 1807, in the sixty-third year of his age.

In contemplating his elevated character, we are struck with the prominence of high and inflexible rectitude, and of that patriotism which, forgetful of self, firmly endured toil and sustained privation. What was said of his excellent friend, Roger Sherman, might with equal propriety be affirmed of him—that his "actions, whether public or private, were attended by the secret interrogatory, *what course is right?* and that he never once propounded to himself the question, *will it be popular?*" He has also been heard to assert, that in youth he took Sherman for his model; and the elder President Adams remarked, in his sententious manner, that "*this was praise enough for both.*" Let it also be added, as a part of the fame of Judge Ellsworth, that his pure principles, and the wisdom which regulated his political course, won for him both the praise and friendship of Washington.

The structure of his mind was lofty and well-balanced. His eloquence rested on the basis of the reasoning powers. It aimed not to dazzle, but to convince. It has been pronounced deficient in the graces of imagination. But the devotion with which he embraced that majestic and severe science, which takes cognizance of man in his capacity of "impeding or being impeded;" which demands dexterity to untwist the spider-web of invention, strength to strike and wisdom to arrest those ideas of justice which come "only as the lightning flash amid the storm of human passions," scarcely comports with the play of fancy or the luxury of leisure. The department of imagination was therefore in him uncultivated. Thought, accustomed, like the laborer, to split the "unwedgeable and knotty oak," could not stoop to trim the vine or to train the flower. In his mind the sentiment of the beautiful was overpowered by combinations derived from the useful and the just. But the *truth* that philosophy seeks, and the *faith* that Christianity imposes, held ever their high places in his soul.

We perceive in him a predominance of those virtues which give permanence to republics—indefatigable industry, opposition to luxury and extravagance, contempt of show and pretension, inflexible integrity, respect for men of low degree, love of country, and fear of God. His was the intellectual and moral power that would have arrested heterogeneous and fluctuating particles, and settled them into order and durability.

Educate a race with his principles and habits, and let *them* determine the question, whether a republic is a form of government intrinsically and necessarily perishable.

The name of Oliver Ellsworth, by every succeeding generation in this land of freedom, should be held venerable and dear; coupled with the memory of our early liberties, and with the virtues that preserve them.

It will not be inapposite to close this brief sketch with the inscription on his monument, from the pen of his valued friend. the late Chauncey Goodrich, Governor of the State of Connecticut

To the Memory of
Oliver Ellsworth, LL.D.
An assistant in the Council, and
a Judge of the Superior Court
of the State of Connecticut;
A member of the Convention which formed,
and of the State Convention of Connecticut which adopted

the Constitution of the United States:
Senator, and Chief Justice of the United States;
One of the Envoys Extraordinary, and
Ministers Plenipotentiary,
who made the Convention of 1801,
between the United States and the French Republic.
Amiable and exemplary
in all the relations of the domestic, social, and Christian character.
Pre-eminently useful
in all the elevated offices he sustained;
Whose great talents,
under the guidance of inflexible integrity,
consummate wisdom,
and enlightened zeal,
employed in his country's cause and service,
placed him among the first of the illustrious statesmen
who achieved the Independence,
and established the Government of the American Republic;
reflecting lustre
on the character of his native State,
and of the United States.
Born at Windsor, on the 29th of April, 1745:
and there died,
on the 26th of November, 1807.
Conjugal affection and filial piety
have erected this monument.

other military preparations, greatly increased their apprehensions for the safety of their friends and brethren; they could not be unconcerned spectators of their sufferings, in that which is esteemed the common cause of this country: but the late hostile and secret inroads of some of the troops under your command into the heart of the country, and the violences they have committed, have driven them almost into a state of desperation. They feel now, not only for their friends, but for themselves, and for their dearest interests and connexions. We wish not to exaggerate, we are not sure of every part of our information; but by the best intelligence that we have yet been able to obtain, the late transaction was a most unprovoked attack upon the lives and property of his Majesty's subjects, and it is represented to us that such outrages have been committed as would disgrace even barbarians, and much more Britons, so highly famed for humanity as well as bravery. It is feared, therefore, that we are devoted to destruction, and that you have it in command and intention to ravage and desolate the country. If this is not the case, permit us to ask, why have these outrages been committed? Why is the town of Boston now shut up? To what end are all the hostile preparations that are daily making? And why do we continually hear of fresh destinations of troops for this country? The people of the Colony, you may rely upon it, abhor the idea of taking arms against the troops of their sovereign, and dread nothing so much as the horrors of civil war. But, at the same time, we beg leave to assure your Excellency, that as they apprehend themselves justified by the principle of self-defence, so they are most *firmly* resolved to defend their rights and privileges to the last extremity; nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them. Be so good, therefore, as to explain yourself upon this most important subject, as far as is consistent with your duty to our common sovereign. Is there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities? Is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? By that humanity which constitutes so amiable a part of your character, for the honor of our sovereign, and by the glory of the British empire, we entreat you to prevent it, if it be possible. Surely it is to be hoped that the temperate wisdom of the empire might even yet find expedients to restore peace, that so all parts of the empire may enjoy their particular rights, honors, and immunities. Certainly this is an event most devoutly to be wished for. And will it not be consistent with your duty to suspend the operations of war on your part, and enable us on ours to quiet the minds of the people, at least till the result of some further deliberations may be known? The importance of the occasion will, we doubt not, sufficiently apologize for the earnestness with which we address you, and any seeming impropriety which may attend it, as well as induce you to give us the most explicit, and favorable answer in your power.

"I am, with great esteem and respect,
"in behalf of the General Assembly,
"Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,
"JONATHAN TRUMBULL."

Letter from Governor TRUMBULL to the Baron Van De Capellan of Holland.

"*Lebanon, 27th June*, 1777.

"The cause of Liberty is not peculiar to one free State—it is a common cause; the destruction of one cannot be indifferent to the few other free States, which God, in his Providence, hath preserved from being swallowed up by tyranny. It was with the greatest pleasure we were informed that the States of Holland refused to lend their troops to Great Britain, to be used in extending the dominion of tyranny over these States, and effacing almost the only traces of liberty which remain in one quarter of the globe; I cannot sufficiently express the gratitude we feel for the generous part, you, Sir, was pleased to take in that matter, worthy of a senator of a free State, and a candid and impartial friend of liberty and humanity.

"In the United States of America you will be revered. We are now reduced to the ne-

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

JOSEPH TRUMBULL, the ancestor of the Trumbull family, came, as is understood, from Cumberland County, England, to Ipswich, in Massachusetts, in the year 1640. His son, John, removed to Suffield, Hartford County, Connecticut, which was then within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. He had three sons, John, Joseph, and Benoni. Their descendants have been distinguished in the civil, political, and literary history of the State. John Trumbull, the celebrated author of McFingal and other poems, was the son of John, who was a distinguished clergyman at Waterbury. The Reverend Benjamin Trumbull, D. D., the historian, was the son of Benoni, who was a clergyman at Hebron. JONATHAN TRUMBULL was the son of Joseph, who settled at Lebanon as a merchant, where the subject of this memoir was born, on the 10th of June, (O. S.) 1710.

He entered Harvard College in 1724, and graduated with honor in 1727. He immediately commenced the study of Theology with the Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon. In due time he was licensed to preach, and soon after was invited to settle in the ministry at Colchester, in his native State. While deliberating upon the subject, a family affliction turned the current of his life into another channel. An elder brother, who was engaged in business with his father, had sailed on a voyage to London, in June 1732, and was never more heard of. For a long time a forlorn hope was entertained that the vessel had been captured by the Algerines; but, distressing as even that hope was, time proved it to be fallacious. The loss of this son, with the vessel and cargo, which wholly belonged to them, was severely felt by the aged father, who found himself unfitted to settle up his mercantile concerns without the assistance of his surviving son, who, at the urgent request of his father, with great reluctance declined the call of the church at Colchester.

In closing up the affairs of his brother, JONATHAN TRUMBULL

gradually commenced business for himself, and was, for many years, a merchant in his native town. He imported his goods direct from London, and by his fair and upright dealing secured the respect and confidence of the public.

At the age of twenty-three he was elected a member of the General Assembly of the Colony. Here a new scene opened before him. His talents for public business were soon perceived and acknowledged, and he rose rapidly in the estimation of the freemen of the Colony. He was soon chosen speaker of the House, and shortly afterward a member of the Council. In 1766 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony, and, by virtue of that office, Chief Judge of the Superior Court. He continued in that office until 1768. Pitkin, the Governor of the Colony, being advanced in life, was cautious in his proceedings upon the absorbing subjects which then agitated the public mind. The right claimed by the British Parliament of taxing the Colonies at their pleasure, and the passage of the Stamp Act, caused great excitement. Governor Pitkin, and several of the council, took the oath enjoined by the British Government on that occasion; but the Lieutenant-Governor absolutely refused to take it himself, or to be present when it was administered to others.

In resistance to the arbitrary acts of Parliament, no person in the Colony was more active, ardent, or energetic, than Lieutenant-Governor TRUMBULL.

In 1769 he was chosen by the people Governor of the Colony, as one on whom, in times of danger and trouble, they could safely rely; and he fulfilled their expectations to the end of his career. He decided in council, by his casting vote, to resist, by force of arms, the encroachments of Great Britain against the liberties of the Colony. This was an act of fearful responsibility, considering the power of the nation to be resisted and the means of defence; and it may here be remarked, that he was the only Colonial Governor, at the commencement of the Revolution, who espoused the cause of the people. During the whole controversy he remained steadfast in the cause; and he was the only Governor of a State who held his station through the war. He was not only considered the leader of the Whigs in his own State, but throughout New England. His firmness in danger; his persevering spirit in the most gloomy period; his ardor, patriotism, and zeal in his country's cause; endeared him to all lovers of their country. As a politician, his views were clear, correct, and open; and the soundness and sagacity of his opinions and judgment were proved by the happy results which followed his undeviating

course. As he never paused in the performance of his duty, so he never despaired of the triumph of his countrymen.

The immense business he transacted, and the manner in which it was done, proved his diligence, ability, and fidelity. During the whole war of the Revolution a council of safety sat with him, except during the sessions of the General Assembly: at all other times he and his council were the Executive of the State. In addition to his duties as Governor, and his attendance with the Legislature, (at least three times a year,) he sat in council during the war more than one thousand days. His correspondence with the Governors of the other States, and with the Commander-in-chief and other officers of the army, was very extensive. He promptly complied with the requisitions of General Washington for supplies, to the extent of his ability, or the power of the State: and it is a fact not generally known, that Connecticut furnished the United States with more troops and supplies than any other State in the Union, except Massachusetts. In addition to the contributions of Connecticut to the forces of the Union, her own sons defended their soil themselves. It is believed the United States never furnished a regiment for her protection, or to repel an invading enemy, and yet the enemy never rested a single night in the State undisturbed.

The foreign correspondence of Governor TRUMBULL was not only extensive, but of great importance to the country, and should be published; as we are confident, from what we have seen of it, that it would not only be highly interesting, but that it would reflect a light upon the history of the time, untinged by personal or partizan prejudices, and confirm the claims of the venerable Governor to a place in the first rank of American patriots. A few extracts from his domestic and foreign correspondence will illustrate its character.

Letter from Governor TRUMBULL to Governor Gage.

"*Hartford, April 28th*, 1775.

"SIR,

"The alarming situation of public affairs in this country, and the late unfortunate transactions in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, have induced the General Assembly of this Colony, now sitting in this place, to appoint a committee of their body to wait upon your Excellency, and to desire me, in their name, to write to you relative to these very interesting matters.

"The inhabitants of this Colony are intimately connected with the people of your province, and esteem themselves bound, by the strongest ties of friendship as well as of common interest, to regard with attention whatever concerns them. You will not therefore be surprised that your first arrival at Boston with a body of his Majesty's troops, for the declared purpose of carrying into execution certain acts of Parliament, which in their apprehension were unconstitutional and oppressive, should have given the good people of this Colony a very just and general alarm. Your subsequent proceedings, in fortifying the town of Boston, and

independence. With sincere and lively gratitude to Almighty God, our great protector and deliverer, and most hearty congratulations to all our citizens, I felicitate you, Gentlemen, the other freemen, and all the good people of the State, in this glorious prospect.

"Impressed with these sentiments of gratitude and felicitation, reviewing the long course of years in which, through various events, I have had the pleasure to serve the State; contemplating, with pleasing wonder and satisfaction, at the close of an arduous contest, the noble and enlarged scenes which now present themselves to my country's view; and reflecting, at the same time, on my advanced stage of life—a life worn out almost in the constant cares of office—I think it my duty to retire from the busy concerns of public affairs: that at the evening of my days I may sweeten their decline by devoting myself with less avocation and more attention to the duties of religion, the service of my God, and preparation for a future and happier state of existence; in which pleasing employment I shall not cease to remember my country, and to make it my ardent prayer that Heaven will not fail to bless her with her choicest favors.

"At this conspicuous moment, therefore, of my country's happiness, when she has just reached the goal of her wishes, and obtained the object for which she has so long contended, and so nobly struggled, I have to request the favor from you, Gentlemen, and through you, from all the freemen of the State, that, after May next, I may be excused from any further service in public life; and that from this time I may be no longer considered as an object of your suffrages for any public employment in the State."

After thanking the Assembly for the aid which they had always afforded him in the discharge of his duties, the Governor availed himself of his experience, and rendered his last address "an advisory legacy" to his constituents. It is a patriarchal document, worthy of the admiration of the lovers of their country; and as such we commend it to the sons of Connecticut, that it may be rescued from oblivion, and have its place amongst the wise and patriotic counsel of the Fathers of the Commonwealth.

Governor TRUMBULL did not long survive to enjoy the tranquillity of private life. He was seized with a malignant fever, and, after a few days' illness, died on the 17th of August, 1785.

The subject of this brief sketch was a remarkable man, even amongst the prominent men of his time. Educated for the ministry, and his career changed by unexpected events to the discharge of the highest civil duties of the State, there was a combination of religion

and worldly wisdom in all his actions, and which may be traced in his correspondence. Even his manners were characterized by the same traits, and won the admiration and regard of those who were familiar with Courts and courtiers, as well as of his own unsophisticated countrymen.

He was an indefatigable student; and notwithstanding his weighty responsibilities and official cares, he found time to "search the Scriptures" in the original languages; kept up his acquaintance with ancient and modern history; and did more than any other person of his day to preserve the knowledge of the early history of his own country. He retained the costume of the early part of the eighteenth century, and the primitive habits of his fathers; he was grave, and serious, and mild in his discourse, but firm and resolute in action. He took time to deliberate on all subjects, and expressed his opinions forcibly and with decision.

The following letter, addresssed to the venerable Governor's son, (who was afterward Governor,) will be read with attention and respect; and, in addition to what we have already stated, will, we believe, furnish a sufficient answer to the numerous inquiries we have received, why we have selected a subject about whom so little is generally known:—

"*Mount Vernon, Oct.* 1st, 1785.

"My Dear Sir,

"It has so happened that your letter of the 1st of last month, did not reach me until Saturday's post.

"You know too well the sincere respect and regard I entertained for your venerable father's public and private character, to require assurance of the concern I felt for his death; or of that sympathy in your feelings for the loss of him, which is prompted by friendship. Under this loss, however, great as your pangs may have been at the first shock, you have every thing to console you.

"*A long and well-spent life in the service of his country, places* Governor Trumbull *among the first of patriots.* In the social duties he yielded to no one; and his lamp, from the common course of nature being nearly extinguished, worn down with age and cares, but retaining his mental faculties in perfection, are blessings which rarely attend advanced life. All these combined, have secured to his memory unusual respect and love here, and, no doubt, unmeasurable happiness hereafter.

"I am sensible that none of these observations can have escaped you, that I can offer nothing which your own reason has not already suggested upon the occasion; and being of Sterne's opinion, that "before an affliction is digested, consolation comes too soon, and after it is digested it comes too late, there is but a mark between these two, almost as fine as a hair, for a comforter to take aim at," I rarely attempt it; nor should I add more on this subject to you, as it will be a renewal of sorrow, by calling afresh to your remembrance things that had better be forgotton.

"My principal pursuits are of a rural nature, in which I have great delight, especially as I am blessed with the enjoyment of good health. Mrs. Washington, on the contrary, is

hardly ever well; but, thankful for your kind remembrance of her, joins me in every good wish for you, Mrs. Trumbull, and your family.

"Be assured, that with sentiments of the purest esteem and regard, I am,

"Dear Sir, your affectionate friend,

"And obedient servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

It is a coincidence worth remarking that Governor TRUMBULL lived to exactly the same age as his father. The Governor was interred in the tomb of the Trumbull family, at Lebanon. It is believed that no cemetery in this country contains the ashes of more revolutionary worthies than this. There repose the remains of two Governors, one commissary-general, and a signer of the declaration of independence. The following inscription records the memory of the worthy Governor JONATHAN TRUMBULL. We have been unable to satisfy ourselves as to the exact date of his death, whether it was on the *ninth* of August, as recorded on the pedestal, or the *seventeenth*, as stated in the memoir:—Sacred to the memory of JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Esq., who, unaided by birth or powerful connexions, but blessed with a noble and virtuous mind, arrived to the highest station in government. His patriotism and firmness during fifty years' employment in public life, and particularly in the important part he acted in the American revolution, as Governor of Connecticut, the faithful page of history will record.

Full of years and honors, rich in benevolence, and firm in the faith and hopes of Christianity, he died August 9, 1785, Ætatis 75.

Governor TRUMBULL collected a large number of papers and manuscripts, which were presented by the family to the Massachusetts Historical Society; several of them have been printed in the volumes of their collections.

Gov.r Morris.

ROBERT MORRIS.

FEW names are to be found in the annals of the Revolution more worthy of grateful remembrance than that of the *Great Financier.* The zeal, and skill, and sleepless vigilance of Washington would have been exerted in vain; the flame of patriotism, which glowed far and wide in the bosoms of thousands who were panting for freedom, would have been kindled in vain, had it not been for the financial ability and extensive credit of ROBERT MORRIS. The sword of a nation must soon rest idly in the scabbard when the national purse is empty.

Some have even gone so far as to say, that his extraordinary powers in the department of finance, the extent of his influence in the commercial relations of this nation in its earliest time of trial, and his unremitted devotion to the duties entrusted to him, entitle him to honors second only to Washington himself. We are, however, not required to fix the precise degree of merit attached to the various individuals who lent their powerful aid in various ways to the general cause. Skill and valor in the field and on the ocean, eloquence in the legislative hall or the popular assembly, the influence of the pen and of the press, and the creation and management of funds or credit, are all essential to success in a contest of nations. To the warriors, the orators, and the writers of the revolutionary period, we have devoted a large portion of our work; we should still consider it imperfect without a respectful notice of the man, whose skilful efforts supplied the funds necessary to give effect to the exertions of his contemporaries.

ROBERT MORRIS was born at Liverpool, England, on the 20th of January, (O. S.) 1733, and was brought into this country by his father when about thirteen years of age. His education was continued under the instruction of the Rev. Mr. Gordon, of Maryland, for about two years, when the accidental discharge of a gun from a ship in the Delaware deprived his father of life, and left him an orphan in a strange land. His education, therefore, went no farther than to qualify

him for business. Nature had endowed him liberally with powers of mind, and his disposition and manners had endeared him to those who knew him. He was not, therefore, without friends to aid him in his youthful career. Soon after the death of his father he was received into the counting-house of Mr. Charles Willing, the most distinguished merchant at that time in Philadelphia. When he became of age he was established in business with his partner's son, Thomas Willing, and embarked in an extensive and profitable West India trade. Mr. MORRIS made several voyages as supercargo in the ships belonging to the company, in one of which he was made a prisoner by the French, and for some time was kept in close confinement. He was, however, liberated; and by exercising his ingenuity in repairing a watch, obtained means to return to Philadelphia, where he resumed his station. Under his active superintendance, the firm of Willing and Morris rapidly attained the summit of commercial reputation. Their foreign business was very extensive, and their punctuality and integrity established them in the confidence and credit of the world. To Mr. MORRIS business was a pleasure, yet the regulations and order of his counting-house enabled him to enjoy the society of his friends, to whom he attached himself with all the ardor of a generous and ingenuous mind.

Mr. MORRIS, about the age of thirty-six, married the sister of the the late Bishop White. A lady who has been described as "elegant, accomplished, and rich, and well qualified to carry the felicity of connubial life to its highest perfection."

At the close of the year 1775 his public life commenced. He was then sent to Congress as a member from Pennsylvania, and was immediately engaged on financial arrangements of the greatest importance. When Congress removed to Baltimore in 1776, Mr. MORRIS was left at Philadelphia with Messrs. Clymer and Walton, to remain as long as circumstances would permit, and transact such business as required attention in that city.

At this crisis General Washington was surrounded by secret foes, and destitute of the means of detecting them, or of getting possession of the enemy's designs, from the want of hard money; nor could he keep the troops which formed a considerable part of his army, and whose time of service had expired, without the promise of a bounty, which he had not the means to advance. Mr. MORRIS borrowed the necessary amount on his own note, and the receipt of it was acknowledged by the General on the 1st of January, 1777.

The situation of General Greene, in South Carolina, was equally

critical, his distresses rendering it scarcely possible to keep the troops together, when a gentleman of that State advanced the necessary sums, and enabled him to avert the danger. When General Greene returned to Philadelphia, and repaired to the office of finance to settle his accounts after the war had terminated, he found that he had been relieved under the direction of Mr. MORRIS. He felt hurt, at first, at the apparent want of confidence in him; but on reflection, he told Mr. MORRIS he had never done a wiser thing; "For," said he, "on other occasions I was sufficiently distressed to have warranted my drawing on you, had I known that I might have done so, and I should have availed myself of the privilege." Mr. MORRIS informed him, that even as matters had been conducted, the southern expedition had gone nearer than the operations in any other quarter, to the arrest of his commercial business.

When Washington suddenly abandoned the banks of the Hudson to co-operate with Count de Grasse in Virginia, from seventy to eighty pieces of battering cannon, and one hundred of field artillery, were completely fitted and furnished with attirail and ammunition, and forwarded in three or four weeks, to the great honor of the officers and men employed in the service. All this, together with the expense of provisions and pay for the troops, was accomplished on the personal credit of ROBERT MORRIS, who issued his notes to the amount of one million four hundred thousand dollars, which were finally all paid. There was no money in the chest of the war office nor in the Treasury; and the expedition which brought the war to a close by the capture of Cornwallis, never could have been effected had not Mr. MORRIS's credit and management supplied the funds necessary to give effect to exertion.

In 1781 the office of Financier was established by resolution of Congress, and Mr. MORRIS was unanimously elected Superintendant. One of the first acts of his financial government was, the proposition to Congress of his plan for the establishment of the Bank of North America, which was forthwith chartered, and opened in January, 1782. At that time the States were half a million of dollars in debt on the taxes of the year, which had been raised by anticipation on that system of credit which Mr. MORRIS had created: and but for this establishment, his plans must have been entirely frustrated.

On his retirement from office, it was affirmed that it cost Congress at the rate of eighteen millions of dollars a year to carry on the war till he was chosen financier, and then it cost them only about five millions.

He continued to superintend the department of finance until the 30th of September, 1784, when he resigned, and immediately issued an advertisement, pledging himself to the payment of all his outstanding notes as they should arrive at maturity.

Fatigued with the cares of public service, which, from his first election to Congress, had engrossed a large proportion of his time, he was now anxious to return to the relaxation of private life. He declined the office of Secretary of the Treasury, offered to him by President Washington on the organization of the federal government under the present Constitution, and recommended Colonel Hamilton, who was accordingly appointed.

At the conclusion of the war, the propitious fortunes which attended his official career seemed entirely to have forsaken him. His unremitted attention to the business of the country had necessarily been at the expense of his private affairs, and was productive of great embarrassments of mind and circumstances. His latter years were overshadowed by poverty. He had sacrificed himself for the safety of the commonwealth.

After a life of inestimable value to the country, Mr. MORRIS died at Philadelphia, on the 8th of May, 1806, in the 74th year of his age.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

"In the friendly competitions of the states for the comparative merits of their respective statesmen and orators," says Dr. Ramsay, (to whose sketches we are indebted for this memoir,) "while Massachusetts boasts of her John Adams—Connecticut of her Ellsworth—New-York of her Jay—Pennsylvania of her Wilson—Delaware of her Bayard—Virginia of her Henry—South Carolina rests her claims on the talents and eloquence of John Rutledge."

This eminent patriot of the Revolution was the son of Dr. John Rutledge, who, with his brother Andrew, both natives of Ireland, settled in Carolina about the year 1735. Dr. Rutledge married Miss Hext, who became the mother of the subject of the present memoir in 1739 in the 15th year of her age. This lady became a widow at an early period, and adds another example to the number, already noticed in this work, of illustrous matrons, who, by devotion to their maternal duties, have been honored and rewarded in the virtues and eminence of their offspring.

The early education of John Rutledge was conducted by David Rhind, an excellent classical scholar, and one of the most successful of the early instructors of youth in Carolina. After he had made considerable progress in the Latin and Greek classics, he entered on the study of law with James Parsons, and was afterwards entered a student in the Temple, and proceeding barrister, came out to Charleston and commenced the practice of law in 1761. One of the first causes in which he engaged was an action for breach of a promise of marriage. The subject was interesting, and gave an excellent opportunity for displaying his talents. It was improved, and his eloquence astonished all who heard him.

Instead of rising by degrees to the head of his profession, he burst forth at once the able lawyer and accomplished orator. Business flowed in upon him. He was employed in the most difficult causes, and retained with the largest fees that were usually given. The

client in whose service he engaged, was supposed to be in a fair way of gaining his cause. He was but a short time in practice, when that cloud began to lower, which, in the course of ten or twelve years, burst forth in a revolutionary storm. In the year 1764 Governor Boone refused to administer to Christopher Gadsden the oaths which the law required every person returned as a member in the commons house of assembly to take before he entered on his legislative functions. This kindled the indignation of the house, as being an interference with their constitutional privileges as the sole judges of the qualifications of their own members. In rousing the assembly and the people to resist all interferences of the royal governors in deciding who should, or who should not be members of the commons house of assembly, JOHN RUTLEDGE kindled a spark which has never since been extinguished.

This controversy was scarcely ended when the memorable Stamp Act was passed. The British Colonies were then detached from each other, and had never acted in concert. A proposition was made by the assembly of Massachusetts to the different provincial assemblies for appointing committees from each to meet in congress as a rallying point of union. To this novel project many objections were made; some doubted its legality, others its expedience, and most its efficiency. To remove objections, to conciliate opposition, and to gain the hearty concurrence of the assembly and the people, was no easy matter. In accomplishing these objects, the abilities of JOHN RUTLEDGE were successfully exerted. Objections vanished—prejudices gave way before his eloquence. The public mind was illuminated, and a more correct mode of thinking took place. A vote for appointing deputies to a Continental congress was carried in South Carolina at an early day, and before it had been agreed to by the neighboring states. Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and JOHN RUTLEDGE, were appointed. The last was the youngest, and had very lately began to tread the threshold of manhood. When the first congress met in New-York in 1765, the members of the distant provinces were surprised at the eloquence of the young member from Carolina. In the means of education that province was far behind those to the northward. Of it little more was known or believed than that it produced rice and indigo, and contained a large proportion of slaves and a handful of free men, and that most of the latter were strangers to vigorous health, all self-indulgent, and none accustomed to active exertions either of mind or body. From such a province nothing great was expected. A respectable committee of

its assembly, and the distinguished abilities of one of them who was among the youngest members of the congress, produced at this first general meeting of the Colonies more favorable ideas of South Carolina than had hitherto prevailed.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act, JOHN RUTLEDGE was for some years no further engaged in politics than as a lawyer and a member of the provincial legislature. In both capacities he was admired as a public speaker. His ideas were clear and strong—his utterance rapid but distinct—his voice, action, and energetic manner of speaking, forcibly impressed his sentiments on the minds and hearts of all who heard him. At reply he was quick—instantly comprehended the force of an objection—and saw at once the best mode of weakening or repelling it. He successfully used both argument and wit for invalidating the observations of his adversary: by the former he destroyed or weakened their force; by the latter he placed them in so ludicrous a point of light that it often convinced, and scarcely ever failed of conciliating and pleasing his hearers. Many were the triumphs of his eloquence at the bar and in the legislature; and in the former case probably more than strict impartial justice would sanction; for judges and juries, counsel and audience, hung on his accents.

In or after the year 1774 a new and more extensive field was opened before him. When news of the Boston port-bill reached Charleston, a general meeting of the inhabitants was called by expresses sent over the state. After the proceedings of the British parliament were stated to this convention of the province, sundry propositions were offered for consideration. To the appointment of delegates for a general congress no objection was made. But this was followed by propositions for instructing them how far they might go in pledging the province to support the Bostonians. Such a discordance of opinions was discovered as filled the minds of the friends of liberty with apprehensions that the meeting would prove abortive. In this crisis JOHN RUTLEDGE, in a most eloquent speech, advocated a motion which he brought forward to give no instructions whatever; but to invest the men of their choice with full authority to concur in any measure they thought best; and to pledge the people of South Carolina to abide by whatever they would agree to. He demonstrated that any thing less than plenary discretion to this extent would be unequal to the crisis. To those who, after stating the dangers of such extensive powers, begged to be informed what must be done in case the delegates made a bad use of their unlimited authority to pledge

the state to any extent, a laconic answer was returned: "Hang them." An impression was made on the multitude. Their minds were subdued by the decision of the proposed measure, and the energy with which it was supported. On that day and by this vote the Revolution was virtually accomplished. By it the people of Carolina determined to be free, deliberately invested five men of their choice as their representatives with full powers to act for them and to take charge of their political interests. Royal government received a mortal wound, and the representative system was planted in its stead. The former lingered for a few months and then expired. The latter instantly took root, and has ever since continued to grow and flourish. An election immediately followed. The mover of this spirited resolution, his brother Edward Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Henry Middleton, were elected. Furnished with such ample powers, they took their seats in congress under great advantages, and by their conduct justified the confidence reposed in them. JOHN RUTLEDGE was continued by successive elections a member of congress till the year 1776. He returned to Charleston in the beginning of that year, and was elected president and commander-in-chief of Carolina, in conformity to a constitution established by the people, on the 26th of March 1776. His duties henceforward were executive. He employed himself diligently in arranging the new government, and particularly in preparing for the defence of the state against an expected invasion by the British. Their attack on Sullivan's Island has been already related.* On this occasion JOHN RUTLEDGE rendered his country important service. General Lee, who commanded the Continental troops, pronounced Sullivan's Island to be a "slaughter pen," and either gave orders or was disposed to give orders for its evacuation. The zeal of the state, and the energy of its chief magistrate, prevented this measure. Carolina had raised troops before congress had declared independence. These remained subject to the authority of the state, and were at this early period not immediately under the command of the officers of congress. To prevent the evacuation of the fort on Sullivan's Island, JOHN RUTLEDGE, shortly before the commencement of the action on the 28th of June, 1776, wrote the following laconic note to General Moultrie, who commanded on the island. "General Lee wishes you to evacuate the fort. You will not without an order from me. I would sooner cut off my hand than write one. J. RUTLEDGE."

* In the biography of General Moultrie, in the first volume of this work.

The consequences which would probably have followed from the evacuation of the fort, may in some measure be conjectured from the events of 1780; when the British, grown wiser, passed the same fort without engaging it.

JOHN RUTLEDGE continued in the office of president till March 1778, when he resigned. The occasion and reasons of his resignation are matters of general history. This did not diminish his popularity. Of this the legislature gave the strongest proof; for the next election he was reinstated in the executive authority of the state, but under a new constitution, and with the name of Governor substituted in the place of President. He had scarcely entered on the duties of this office, when the country was invaded by the British General Prevost. Governor RUTLEDGE made great exertions to repel this invasion—to defend Charleston in the years 1779, 1780—to procure the aid of congress and of the adjacent states—to drive back the tide of British conquest—to recover the state, and to revive its suspended legislative and judicial powers. On the close of his executive duties in 1782, he was elected and served as a member of congress till 1783. In this period he was called upon to perform an extraordinary duty. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis in October, 1781, seemed to paralyze the exertions of the states. Thinking the war and all danger to be over, they no longer acted with suitable vigor. Congress, fearing that this languor would encourage Great Britain to re-commence the war, sent deputations of their members to rouse the states to a sense of their danger and duty. On the 22d of May, 1782, JOHN RUTLEDGE and George Clymer were sent in this character, and instructed "to make such representation to the several states southward of Philadelphia as were best adapted to their respective circumstances and the present situation of public affairs, and as might induce them to carry the requisitions of congress into effect with the greatest dispatch." They were permitted to make a personal address to the Virginia assembly. In the execution of this duty, JOHN RUTLEDGE drew such a picture of the United States, and of the danger to which they were exposed by the backwardness of the particular states to comply with the requisitions of congress, as produced a very happy effect. The addresser acquitted himself with so much ability that the Virginians, who, not without reason, are proud of their statesmen and orators, began to doubt whether their Patrick Henry or the Carolina RUTLEDGE was the most accomplished public speaker. Soon after the termination of Mr. RUTLEDGE'S con-

gressional duties, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to Holland, but declined serving.

In the year 1784 he was elected a judge of the court of Chancery in South Carolina. The events of the late war had greatly increased the necessity for such a court. JOHN RUTLEDGE draughted the bill for organizing it on a new plan, and in it introduced several provisions, which have been very highly commended as improvements on the English court of the same name. Mr. RUTLEDGE'S public duties hitherto had been either legislative or executive. They were henceforward judicial. If comparisons were proper, it might be added that he was most at home in the latter. His knowledge of the law was profound; but the talent which pre-eminently fitted him for dispensing justice was a comprehensive mind, which could at once take into view all the bearings and relations of a complicated case. When the facts were all fairly before him, he promptly knew what justice required. The pleadings of lawyers gratified their clients, but rarely cast any light on the subject which had not already presented itself to his own view. Their declamations and addresses to the passions were lost on him. Truth and justice were the pole-stars by which his decisions were regulated. He speedily resolved the most intricate cases, pursued general principles through their various modifications till they led to the fountain of justice. His decrees were so luminous, and the grounds of them so clearly expressed, that the defeated party was generally satisfied.

In the year 1787 he was called upon to assist in framing a national constitution in lieu of the advisory system of the confederation. In arranging the provisions of that bond of union, and in persuading his countrymen to accept it, he was eminently useful. As soon as it was in operation, he was designated by President Washington as an associate justice of the Supreme court of the United States. In this office he served till 1791, when he was elected chief justice of South Carolina. He was afterwards appointed chief justice of the United States. Thus for more than thirty years, with few and short intervals, he served his country in one or other of the departments of government; and in all with fidelity and ability. This illustrious man closed his variegated career in the year 1800.

HENRY LAURENS.

HENRY LAURENS was born at Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1724. His ancestors were French protestants, who sought in the American wilderness a refuge from persecution, shortly after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. We have already traced the genealogy of several of our Revolutionary patriots to the same period.

After receiving the best education which the most competent teachers in Carolina could impart, HENRY LAURENS was put under the care of Thomas Smith, a merchant of Charleston, and afterwards of Mr. Crockatt of London, and acquired those habits of order and method in business for which he was remarkable. On his return to Charleston he entered into partnership with Mr. Austin, a merchant already engaged in an extensive trade. He devoted himself to business with a zeal and industry which far surpassed his contemporaries; and he established a character for himself worthy the emulation of all young merchants. He was scrupulously punctual in the discharge of all pecuniary engagements, and in being where, and doing what, he had promised. He was an early riser, and frequently had the business of the day arranged when others were beginning to think of leaving their beds. His letters were generally written in the retired hours of the night or morning; and whether on subjects of business, friendship, or amusement, were considered models of forcible expression and perspicuity of language.

He studied human nature in all the various specimens which it was his interest to know thoroughly, with the earnestness of LAVATER; and his judgment enabled him very soon to ascertain the true value of every man with whom he had to transact business. His diligence, prudence, and knowledge of men and business, could not fail of success; and in winding up the concerns of the partnership, in 1770, twenty-three years after its commencement, and which had embraced transactions to the amount of many millions, such was their confidence in the safety of their business, that he offered to his partner to take all

outstanding debts as cash at a discount of only five per cent. on the aggregate amount.

One of the strong traits of his character, was his love of justice. He would never draw a bill of exchange until he had a written acknowledgment of indebtedness to the amount drawn for. He once had a lawsuit with the Vice-Admiralty Judge, in which he resisted the claims of the royal government, which by some recent regulations were hostile to American rights. Mr. LAURENS being cast, he tendered to the Judge his legal fees to a considerable sum. The Judge declined receiving them, and Mr. LAURENS conceiving he had no right to retain what was legally due from him, gave the amount to the South Carolina Society, to be expended in charity. He pursued the same course on other occasions, when money was left unclaimed in his hands, which he was unwilling to keep.

He once persuaded a favorite slave to receive the small pox by inoculation, which terminated fatally. To comfort the dying man for the unfortunate issue of the experiment, assurances were given to him that his children should be emancipated; which was accordingly done.

Having amassed a fortune far exceeding what was then common in America, and being a widower, he went to Europe in 1771, to superintend the education of his sons. During his residence in England, the disputes between the Colonies and the parent state continued to approach the point where an amicable adjustment was hopeless. Mr. LAURENS saw the approaching crisis, and endeavored to arrest it. True to his country, and fully assured of the firm determinations of his countrymen to resist oppression, he was anxious to avert the stroke which he foresaw would rouse them to arms in self-defence. He united with thirty-eight other Americans in a petition to the British Parliament against the passage of the bill to shut up the port of Boston, and so soon as he found the die was cast against his country, he hastened his departure to Carolina, determined to take his share in the struggle for freedom. Great efforts were made to induce him to remain in England, but he would not listen to the persuasions of friends nor the allurements of interest. When about to embark from Falmouth, he wrote to Mr. Oswald, who was subsequently one of the negotiators for peace, "Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted the part of a faithful subject. I now go resolved still to labor for peace; at the same time determined, in the last event, to stand or fall with my country." To numerous friends in England he freely gave the assurance that

America would not submit to the claims of the British Parliament, and on his landing at Charleston, in December 1774, he declared with equal confidence that Britain would not recede, and that war was inevitable. Much reliance was placed upon his opinion, and vigorous preparations for defence were immediately commenced by the Carolinians.

Mr. LAURENS was a member of the first Provincial Congress, held at Charleston on the 11th of January, 1775, and was elected president of the Council of Safety, appointed by that body, with powers to carry on the business of the Colony during the recess of the Congress. This committee, or Council of Safety, were invested with full executive powers; they stamped money, raised troops, issued commissions to officers, authorised an attempt on the Island of Providence for the acquisition of military stores; sent *a talk* to the Catawba Indians; and performed, indeed, all the functions of a regular government with admirable firmness, although they were well aware that their lives and fortunes were at stake.

The well-known activity and promptness which had distinguished Mr. LAURENS as a merchant, were equally valuable in him as a statesman; and the public business was despatched with vigor and sound judgment until the establishment of a regular constitution in the State of South Carolina, in March 1776. He was soon afterward elected a member of Congress, of which he was appointed president on the 1st of November, 1777. The station to which he was now elevated brought him into intimate correspondence with Washington, and it may be remarked as one of the events of this period of his life, of equal importance to his country and his own fame, that when the Commander-in-chief was assailed by a malignant faction, which sought, by false and anonymous suggestions, to obtain his removal, Mr. LAURENS remained firm and steadfast in his attachment to Washington, and was the first to expose the artifices of his opponents. The alliance with France, and the efforts of the British ministry to neutralize its effects by sending out commissioners to treat with the constituted authorities in America, or with individuals, were also important events of the same period.

In December, 1778, Mr. LAURENS resigned the chair of Congress. In the following year he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Holland, for the purpose of forming a commercial treaty, and to obtain loans. Some unofficial overtures had been previously received, and even the plan of a treaty between the States general of Holland and the United States had been communicated to Congress, which Mr.

LAURENS was authorised to carry into effect. He sailed for Europe in the summer of 1780, and was captured on his passage out by a British frigate. He threw his papers overboard, but as they did not immediately sink, they were recovered by the activity of a British sailor, and disclosed the situation of affairs between the two countries, and led to the declaration of war against Holland when the demand of the English minister for speedy satisfaction was not complied with.

Mr. LAURENS was carried to London, where he was examined before the Privy Council, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower on the charge of high treason. There he was confined more than a year, and was treated with great severity. No person was permitted to speak to him, nor was he permitted to speak to any one; he was deprived of the use of pen and ink, and all intercourse by letters was strictly prohibited. These strict orders were, however, relaxed after a few weeks; for the King's ministers were desirous of turning his influence to advantage, and they dared not to punish him capitally for fear of retaliation.

One of his friends in London applied to the Secretary of State for Mr. LAURENS's liberation on parole, and offered his whole fortune as security for his good conduct; he was authorised to say to Mr. LAURENS, that "if he would point out any thing for the benefit of Great Britain in the present dispute with the Colonies, he should be enlarged." This proposition was indignantly rejected. The same friend soon after was permitted to visit him with another proposition, the amount of which was, that he should remain in London, as the ministers would have frequent occasion to consult him; and that he should write two or three lines to them, merely to say that he was sorry for what had passed. "A pardon will be granted," said his friend. "Every man has been wrong at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. LAURENS replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonor of my children."

Cut off from all social intercourse, he was only permitted to learn the progress of events during his confinement from such newspapers as announced the successes of the British arms, particularly in South Carolina, after the surrender of Charleston; or his own misfortune in the sequestration of his estate by the conquerors. Still he remained steadfast and unmoved.

In the course of the year 1781, it was intimated to Mr. LAURENS that it would be advantageous to him if he would write to his son, Colonel Laurens, then on a mission to the Court of France, and request

him to withdraw from that country. But he replied, "My son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no effect, he would only conclude that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honor. He loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honor to save my life, and I applaud him."

Mr. LAURENS wrote with a pencil a request to the Secretary of State for permission to use pen and ink, for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange on a merchant in London, who was in his debt, as he was in want of means for his immediate support. To this application no answer was returned. As soon as he had completed a year in the Tower, he was called on to pay ninety-four pounds ten shillings sterling to the two warders who had attended him; but he replied, "I will not pay the warders whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with." Three weeks afterward, materials were brought to him to write a bill of exchange, but they were removed the moment that business was done.

Towards the end of the year 1781, the sufferings which Mr. LAURENS had been compelled to endure in the Tower began to be generally known; and elicited strong expressions of compassion in his favor, and censure against the authors of his confinement. But there were difficulties in the way of his release not easy to be overcome. He would make no concessions, nor consent to any act which implied that he was a British subject; as such he had been committed, on a charge of high treason, but he regarded himself as a citizen of the United States,—a prisoner of war. To extricate themselves from this difficulty, Ministers proposed to take bail for his appearance at the court of King's Bench. When the words of the recognizance, "Our sovereign lord the King," were read to Mr. LAURENS, he replied in open court, "Not my sovereign!!" Notwithstanding that, he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, was bound for his appearance at the next court of King's Bench for Easter term, and for not departing without leave of the Court, on which he was immediately released. When the time drew near for his appearance at court, he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was solicited by Lord Shelbourne to assist, by his presence on the continent, at the negotiations for peace which were then in progress. He proceeded to Paris, and there signed the preliminaries of peace on the 30th of November, 1782, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, John Adams. and John Jay.

Mr. LAURENS soon after returned to Carolina, with a constitution broken by the rigorous confinement of more than fourteen months in the Tower, and he never afterwards enjoyed good health. His countrymen rejoiced at his return, and proffered every mark of honor in their power to bestow; but he declined all solicitations to suffer them to elect him governor, a member of congress, or of the legislature of the state. He was, without his consent, elected a member of the convention for the revision of the federal constitution, but declined serving. He retired from all public business, and interested himself only in promoting the welfare and happiness of his family and dependents, by various agricultural experiments, and the improvement of the society of his friends and neighbors.

His health gradually declined, and on the 8th of December, 1792, near the close of his 69th year, he expired. His will concluded with the following remarkable request, which was literally complied with: "I solemnly enjoin it on my son, as an indispensable duty, that as soon as he conveniently can after my decease, he cause my body to be wrapped in twelve yards of tow-cloth, and burnt until it be entirely consumed, and then, collecting my bones, deposite them wherever he may think proper."

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

THE early years of Major-general THOMAS PINCKNEY were passed with his brother, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the subject of a future sketch; and, in addition to the facts which will be found imbodied in that memoir, it is now only necessary to say, that THOMAS was born at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of October, 1750; and consequently was only three years old when taken to England by his father. Like his brother, he made good use of his time and opportunities for improvement, and after nearly twenty years of absence returned to his native land full of patriotic ardor.

He was still engaged in his professional studies in London, when the first notes of hostile preparation against his country were sounded; he immediately abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted his whole attention to the acquisition of military knowledge, by which he afterward distinguished himself in the Revolutionary army. His military services were put in requisition very soon after his return to Charleston; and according to the statement of Major Garden, the rudiments of discipline were first taught by him to the infantry of the South Carolina line. On the formation of the two Provincial regiments in 1775, he was appointed to the command of a company, and soon after rose to the rank of Major. He had the reputation of an able tactician and a rigid disciplinarian. Of his firmness and decision of character, he gave the following very unequivocal proof. At an early period of the war, a mutiny having broken out in his regiment, the officers attempted to suppress it by persuasiou and remonstrance, which were succeeded by upbraidings and menaces. Major PINCKNEY walked deliberately into the midst of the mutineers, and with his sabre cut down the ringleader. Order and subordination were immediately restored.

When General Lincoln took command of the Southern army, Major PINCKNEY was appointed one of his aids, and acted in that capacity with the Count D'Estaing at the siege of Savannah. At the

attack on the enemy's works at Stono, in June, 1779, Major PINCKNEY gained great applause for his gallant conduct in the field, where the battalion, to which he was attached, charged two companies of the 71st British regiment, and so completely routed them at the point of the bayonet, that only nine men were able to take shelter within their lines. At the siege of Savannah, while superintending the construction of a redoubt, a shell from the enemy fell into the ditch and burst. Major PINCKNEY and Colonel D'Oyley were blinded with dust and covered with dirt; but the Major, without changing his position, or being in the least discomposed, calmly observed, "I think, D'Oyley, that must have been very near us," and then continued to press on the work with great animation. When the assault on the town was determined on, Major PINCKNEY led one of the assailing columns, but was repulsed. Great confusion among the troops ensued, and all, who could, pressed forward to avoid the destructive fire that poured upon their rear. Major PINCKNEY hastened to the front of his soldiers, and commanded them to halt. "Success, my brave fellows," he exclaimed, "though richly merited, has not crowned your exertions; yet do not disgrace yourselves by precipitate flight, and, though repulsed, quit the field like soldiers." Order was restored, and the regiment regained their encampment with deliberate steps.

At the disastrous battle of Camden on the 16th of August, 1780. Major PINCKNEY, acting as Aid-de-camp to General Gates, had his leg shattered by a musket ball, and fell into the hands of the enemy. When sufficiently recovered to be removed, he was sent as a prisoner of war to Philadelphia.

In 1787 he succeeded General Moultrie as Governor of South Carolina, and was eminently successful in re-establishing the authority of the laws, which had been in a great measure dormant during the war.

He received from President Washington, in 1792, the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James. The duties which devolved upon him during his residence in London were attended with circumstances which required the exercise of great delicacy and prudence, with vigilance and firmness. It will be recollected, that at that time some of the provisions of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States remained unfulfilled. The war which arose out of the French Revolution, and very soon involved nearly all the European powers, exposed the commerce of the Union to many embarrassments from the belligerents, who strove to injure and annoy each other without regard to the rights of neu-

tral nations. The neutrality of the United States was regarded with jealousy by each of the great contending powers. Neutrality, indeed, was offensive to both, and each strove to involve our country in the war. But it was the settled policy of Washington's administration to preserve a *strict* neutrality, and to favor neither of the belligerents. There was an undoubted inclination, however, on the part of a majority of the people of the United States, to arrange themselves on the side of France; and the British government soon became aware of that fact, and adapted their measures to the expected result, which their power on the ocean enabled them to render exceedingly vexatious. France being unable any longer to import the productions of her colonies in her own ships, the carrying trade on the Atlantic chiefly fell into the hands of the American merchants; but that was very soon interfered with by the orders of the British government to their cruisers. The practice of impressing men from American ships for the British navy, began also, about this time, to be a cause of serious complaint; and a renewal of hostilities seemed inevitable. But the conduct of Republican France was equally unfriendly and offensive; and, considering the probable tendency of her great adversary's measures, far more impolitic. Still the President remained firm in his purpose of maintaining the neutrality of the United States until the aggressions of foreign powers should clearly render neutrality incompatible with honor. He therefore determined to make one more effort with each of the great contending powers, that should either remove all cause of quarrel or demonstrate the necessity of war. He accordingly communicated to the Senate of the United States the despatches, which, in the beginning of the year 1794, had been received from Major PINCKNEY at London, and on the 16th of April nominated Mr. Jay as Envoy Extraordinary to his Britannic Majesty.

While Major PINCKNEY was Minister at London, he was instructed to seize every proper occasion to express the interest taken by the President in the fate of La Fayette, who was then a prisoner in Germany; but his unofficial communications to the Austrian Minister in London, and his endeavors to obtain the mediation of the British government, were alike unavailing.

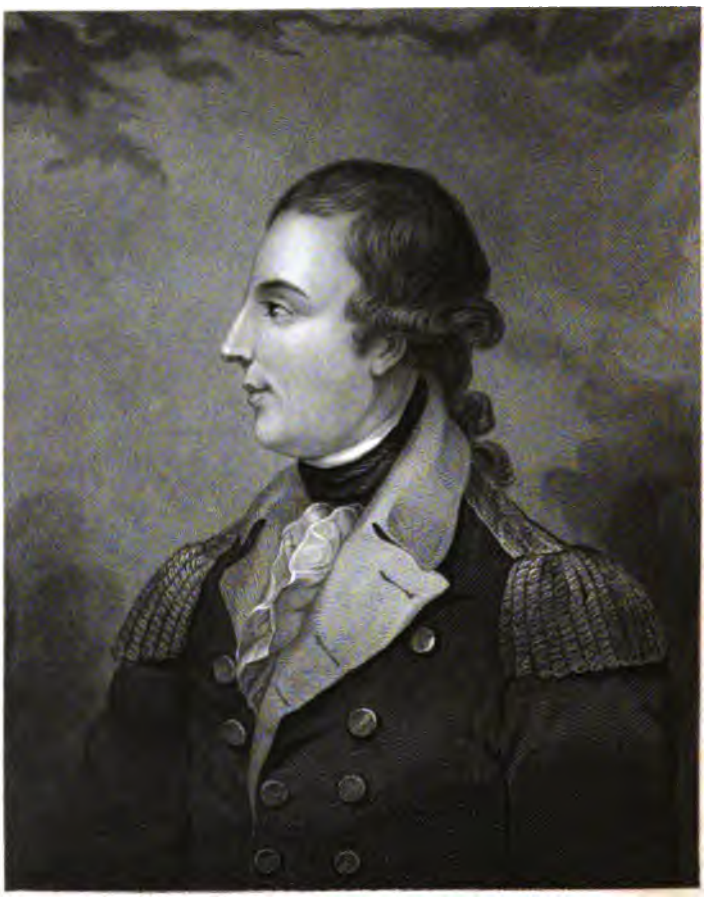
In November of the same year, Major PINCKNEY was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to his Catholic Majesty, and repaired, in the Summer of 1795, to Madrid. On the 20th of October following, he concluded a treaty, which settled the controversy with Spain respecting boundary, and secured the free navigation of the Mississippi. In

the following year his private affairs requiring his presence at home, he was recalled at his own solicitation, and returned to Carolina; where he was received with the most grateful evidences of the regard and affection of his fellow-citizens. He afterward served a few sessions in Congress, as a representative from Charleston district, and then retired to private life.

When the despatches from our envoys to France in 1798 reached this country, detailing the hostility of the Directory, and the humiliating proposition of tribute, and the indignities which had been offered to Generals C. C. Pinckney and Marshall, and Mr. Gerry; President Adams proposed to prevent their immediate publication, lest further insults might follow, as those gentlemen were still in Paris. But on consulting Major PINCKNEY, he gave a decided opinion that they ought to be made public without delay, that the people might have a perfect knowledge of the insulting conduct of the French Directory. "And, Sir," he added, "if the situation of my brother causes you to hesitate, I speak for him, as I know he would for me, were I similarly circumstanced. The glory of our country is at stake. Individual sufferings must not be regarded. Be the event what it may, life is nothing compared with the honor of America."

After the lapse of several years, which had been devoted to the education of his children and the improvement of his estate, the veteran was once more called by his country to the field. At the commencement of the war of 1812, President Madison appointed him to the command of the Southern army. It was under his command that the Indian war, in which General Jackson distinguished himself, was undertaken and successfully terminated. He very early discerned the talents of General Jackson, and recommended him to the War department for the command of a separate district, to be formed out of his own, which extended from North Carolina to the Mississippi, and which he considered entirely too large for one command. By thus opening a field for the free exercise of the skill and enterprise of General Jackson, he advanced the interest and honor of his country, and the war was closed by one of the most brilliant victories that adorn the annals of any nation.

On the return of peace he resigned his commission, and declined all further public employment. From that period his attention was given to various scientific improvements in agriculture, and to the cultivation of social intercourse amongst a very extensive circle of relatives and friends. He died on the 2d of November, 1828, after a lingering and painful illness.



Engraved by B. Mackenzie, from the Painting by C.W. Peale in the Philadelphia Museum

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

Richd Montgomery

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

THE subject of the present memoir was born in the north of Ireland in 1736; possessed of excellent talents, his parents were careful to mature them by a superior education. He embraced the profession of arms at an early age, and entering the army of Great Britain, commenced his military career in America. The regiment to which he belonged made part of the army which, in 1757, was assembled at Halifax, and intended for the reduction of Louisburg, a fortress of great strength, which was believed to be the key to the French possessions in America. In the attack on that place, which commenced on the 8th of June 1758, MONTGOMERY, who served in the *élite* of the army, under the immediate command of General Wolfe, gave the first decisive evidence of those high military qualities which marked his subsequent conduct. After the capture of Louisburg he marched with his regiment, under the orders of General Amherst, to the relief of Abercrombie, who had been defeated at Ticonderoga. He remained at that point on lake Champlain until 1760, when the conquest of Canada was completed

Large detachments of the British forces in America were then sent to operate against the French and Spanish West India Islands. In the two campaigns which were employed on that laborious and perilous service, MONTGOMERY had a full share of toil and danger, and his conduct was rewarded by promotion to the command of a company.

Soon after the peace in 1763, his regiment returned to New-York, and he obtained leave of absence and revisited Europe, where he remained until 1772, when, having been twice circumvented in the purchase of a majority, he sold his commission, and in January of the

following year he arrived in New-York. On his arrival he purchased an estate on the Hudson, about one hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of Robert R. Livingston. Adopting, in their fullest extent, the American feelings for liberty and hatred of oppression, he freely expressed his readiness to draw his sword on the side of the Colonies; and on the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, the command of the Continental forces was intrusted to him in conjunction with General Schuyler, in the fall of 1775. In October, the indisposition of the latter preventing him from taking the field, the chief command devolved upon General MONTGOMERY.

Leaving his peaceful retirement on the banks of the Hudson, where he had acquired that station and authority among his fellow-citizens which superior acquirements and inflexible integrity never fail to secure, he felt himself called upon, like another Regulus, to bid farewell to those domestic endearments with which he was eminently blessed, and to rush at once upon his short career, which, however sudden its termination, was crowded with scenes of virtuous activity sufficient to have dignified the longest life.

The Canada expedition of this year was one of those measures, which the enemies of America having first rendered necessary, soon strove to construe into an act of hostility and offence. It was evident that preparations were in readiness to invade our frontiers by armed bands of savages, supported by disciplined troops. General MONTGOMERY was therefore despatched to avert the stroke if possible, but if that should prove impracticable, his instructions authorized him to storm the intermediate posts and to attack Quebec. His movements were characterised no less by their efficiency than their humanity. He soon reduced Fort Chamblee, captured St. John's, and by the 12th of November Montreal also surrendered. On the 1st of December he joined Colonel Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles, and proceeded to the siege of Quebec; but as his artillery was not of sufficient calibre to make the requisite impression, he determined upon attempting the capture of the place by storm. The several divisions were accordingly put in motion in the midst of a heavy snow storm, which concealed them from the enemy. MONTGOMERY advanced at the head of the New-York troops along the banks of the St. Lawrence, and assisted, with his own hands, in pulling up the pickets which obstructed his approach to the second barrier, which he was resolved to force. At this juncture the only gun that was fired from the battery of the enemy killed him and his two aid-de-camps. The three fell at the same time, and rolled upon the ice formed upon the river.

The enemy had been struck with consternation, and all but one or two had fled. The death of the general saved Quebec.

When he fell, he was in a narrow passage; and when his body was found the next morning among the slain, it was brought into the city and buried by a few soldiers without any marks of distinction.

General MONTGOMERY's military talents are admitted on all hands to have been great; his measures were taken with judgment and executed with vigor. With undisciplined and raw troops, illy supplied with arms and ammunition, yet he inspired his men with his own enthusiasm; he led them in the coldest season of the year to an inclement country, shared with them in all their hardships, and to the hour of his death was the conqueror of our foes. His industry could not be wearied, nor his vigilance imposed upon. Above the pride of opinion, when a measure was adopted by the majority contrary to his judgment he gave it his full support. He was in every respect admirably calculated to fulfil his arduous enterprise; the command and conduct of the army formed but a small part of his difficult undertaking. The Indians were to be treated with, restrained, and kept in good humor. The French Canadians were likewise to be soothed, protected, and supported; his own army required to be formed, disciplined, animated, accustomed to marches, encampments, dangers and fatigues; and frequently the want of necessary supplies demanded in the first officer the courage of a soldier united to the benevolence of a man. When the men labored under fatigue and wanted bread, had their beds to make in snow or in morasses, they disdained complaint when they saw their commander share in every particular but little better than themselves. On one occasion he says in a letter:—

"Our camp is so swampy I feel exceedingly for the troops; and provisions so scarce, it will require not only dispatch, but good fortune, to keep us from distress. Should things go well, I tremble for the fate of the poor Canadians who have ventured so much. What shall I do with them should I be obliged to evacuate this country? I have assured them that the United Colonies will as soon give up Massachusetts to resentment as them."

Instead of making a merit of the difficulties of his campaign, he sought, in his letters and despatches, to conceal them, ascribing the faults of his "young troops" to their "want of experience," to their hard duty, the constant succession of bad weather, &c., still encouraging them to nobler efforts in future; and if any impatience of discipline appeared, he attributed it to "that spirit of freedom which

men, accustomed to think for themselves, will bring even into camps with them."

His perseverance and good conduct in gaining possession of St. John's and Montreal were the theme of every tongue; his abilities in negotiation; the precision with which the various articles of treaties and capitulations were expressed; the generous applause he gave, not only to every worthy effort of his own officers, but to the commanding officer and garrison of St. John's; his noble declaration to the inhabitants of Montreal, that "the Continental armies despise every act of oppression and violence, being come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security;" all these did honor to himself and to congress, under whose authority he acted.

In a memoir of General MONTGOMERY it would be unjust wholly to omit a tribute to his aids, who fell with him in Canada. They were Captains Macpherson and Cheesman. The first, having finished his education at Princeton, studied law with John Dickinson; animated by his example and precepts, he had become eminent in his profession at a period when many are deemed "under age." The love of liberty being his ruling passion, he thought it his duty to offer himself to the service of his country, and he had soon an opportunity of attaining the military rank of which he was laudably ambitious. He soon became the bosom friend of General MONTGOMERY, was entrusted with a share of his most important negotiations, and stood by his side in the attack upon Quebec; in death they were not a moment divided.

Captain Cheesman, of the New-York forces, fell at the same time, covered with honor, and lamented by all who knew him as an active and gallant officer. Captain Hendricks also deserves mention; he commanded one of the Pennsylvania rifle companies, and was a gallant soldier. The command of the guard belonged to him on the morning of the attack; but he solicited and obtained leave to take a more conspicuous post, and having led his men through the barrier where his commanding officer, General Arnold, was wounded, he long sustained the fire of the garrison with unshaken firmness, till, at last, receiving a shot in his breast, he immediately expired.

The sorrow of the American people for the loss of MONTGOMERY was heightened by the esteem which his amiable character had gained him. The whole country mourned his death; and to express the high sense entertained of his services, congress directed a monument of marble to be placed in front of St. Paul's church in the city of New-York, with the following appropriate inscription:—

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

THIS MONUMENT
Was erected by order of
Congress, 25th January, 1776,
To transmit to posterity
A grateful remembrance of the
Patriotism, conduct, enterprise, and
Perseverance
Of MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONGOMERY;
Who, after a series of success
Amidst the most discouraging difficulties,
Fell in the attack
On Quebec,
31st December, 1775.
Aged 37* years.

His remains, (after resting forty-two years at Quebec,) by a resolution of the state of New-York, were brought to the city; and on the 8th of July, 1818, they were deposited with grateful ceremonies beneath the aforesaid monument.

Such an example is worthy of the great state which conceived and executed it. Many of our brave men and legislators of the era that tried men's souls still slumber in ignoble scites; it is time the nation was awakened from its apathy on this subject.

As an appropriate conclusion, we may be permitted to quote the following character of General MONTGOMERY from Ramsay's History of the American Revolution:—

"Few men have ever fallen in battle so much regretted by both sides as General MONTGOMERY. His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune and the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war instituted for the defence of the community of which he was an adopted member. His well-known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused.

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* The age on the monument is 37, as inserted in the text, but it is evidently an error. General Armstrong, in his Memoir of Montgomery, says, he fell "in the first month of his fortieth year."—ED.

In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain, as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that assembly displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise and lamenting his fate. Those, in particular, who had been his fellow soldiers in the late war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself acknowledged his worth while he reprobated the cause in which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric by saying—'Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country.'"

Such was General RICHARD MONTGOMERY; a name that we have cause to remember with pride, not unmingled with regret at his early but honorable death. Had he lived, he would have stood among the first of our military leaders, our patriots, and our statesmen. Many, it is true, have blamed him for rashness, in hazarding an attack on Quebec with so small a force. But what could he have done? To abandon the project after all the expense and labor it had cost, without an effort, would, probably, have subjected him to still severer condemnation, even from the same persons who now censure him. Both his country's honor and his own reputation impelled him forward. To have kept his men together among the ravages of the small-pox, and encamped in open fields of snow, would have been impossible; the only alternative was an attempt to take the city by assault. Alas, it failed; had it succeeded, all men would have praised both the conception and its execution. When men cannot command success, they ought not to be blamed for the failure of noble intentions; and but for the unhappy sudden fall of MONTGOMERY the fate of the day might have been very different. All that a man could do in his circumstances was accomplished, and he died with a character unsullied by a single stain, and a heart true to virtue and honor. He was marked for his benevolence, his eloquence, and his courage.

THOMAS SUMTER.

THE name of General SUMTER, of South Carolina, is conspicuous in the story of our revolutionary struggle, but the details of his actions are scattered through many books, and have never, we believe, been arranged in the form of a personal memoir. After many efforts to obtain new matter. and to render this sketch more perfect than we could otherwise hope to make it from the materials within our reach, we have to confess our utter failure. The indifference or procrastination of the present representative of the family, to whom we have applied, has left us, up to the last moment, without a line of information; and the unhappy fate of the Steamer Home deprived us of Professor Nott, who had engaged to furnish a biography of General SUMTER from such materials as he could obtain in South Carolina. We are therefore thrown upon our own resources, and can only promise a careful collection of all the material facts in relation to the public life of the distinguished soldier, who, as a partisan officer, scarcely ranked below even Marion himself.

It is probable that the military talents of General SUMTER had been exhibited in the militia service of Carolina long before the commencement of the revolution; as we find that so early as March, 1776, he was appointed by the provincial congress lieutenant-colonel of the second regiment of riflemen; but he does not appear to have particularly distinguished himself until after the fall of Charleston, in May, 1780. His peculiar genius had then free scope, and led him on to a series of actions of importance to his country, and the more remarkable from the circumstances under which he organized his force, and the sudden and unexpected check given to the rapid career of the conquerors of General Lincoln's army.

In a few weeks after the capitulation of Charleston, the enemy held complete possession of the state, and on the 4th of June Sir Henry Clinton wrote to his government, "I may venture to assert that there are few men in South Carolina, who are not either our prisoners or

in arms with us." The few brave spirits who had not bowed to the storm, sought shelter and the means of renewing the contest in North Carolina. Among these was Colonel SUMTER; but despondency and inactivity formed no part of his character. At the head of a body of republicans like himself, driven from their native states, who had chosen him to their command; few in number, imperfectly armed, and almost destitute of ammunition, he returned to South Carolina, to oppose himself to a veteran and victorious army.

On the 12th of July he surprised and cut to pieces a superior party of the enemy, composed of thirty-five dragoons of the legion, twenty mounted infantry, and a large body of loyalists. The commander of the party, Captain Huck, a miscreant noted for his cruelty and profanity, was killed; and of his whole party but about twenty made their escape.

Among those who served under Col. SUMTER, was Colonel Neale. This gentleman, an ardent Whig, had commanded a regiment of militia in S. Carolina, and had fled from the state after the fall of Charleston. When Lord Cornwallis, contrary alike to policy and justice, determined to admit no neutrality in the contest, but that all who did not unite themselves to the British force should be proceeded against as enemies, Col. Neale's regiment was enrolled in the royal service. Hearing of the approach of SUMTER, together with their old commander, they hastened to join him. His force was still farther increased by the junction of small parties of Whigs from the Waxsaw settlement, who had been exasperated by the treatment of the British authorities. Col. SUMTER, now promoted by Governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier-general in the state militia, found himself in a situation to undertake some more considerable enterprise.

On the 30th of July he passed Broad river at Blair's ford, with about six hundred men, and advanced upon Rocky Mount. The defences of the post consisted of two log-houses and a loop-holed building, surrounded by a ditch and an abattis—the whole placed upon a commanding eminence, and encircled by an open wood. The garrison was composed of the New-York volunteers and a party of royalist militia, and was commanded by Col. Turnbull. Having no artillery, Gen. SUMTER sheltered the greater part of his men among the trees and rocks, with directions to keep up a heavy fire upon the garrison; while at the head of a picked party, he himself proceeded to the assault. After being twice repulsed, he still persevered, and succeeded in penetrating within the abattis; but the strength of the post was too great to admit of its being taken without artillery, and he was finally compelled to retire

Not discouraged by his want of success, after an interval of eight days SUMTER fell upon Hanging Rock, another of the chain of posts by which the British kept up their communication with the lower country. Hanging Rock was garrisoned by five hundred men, consisting of one hundred and sixty infantry of Tarleton's legion, a part of Col. Brown's regiment, and Bryan's North Carolina corps. Through an error of the guides, the attack was first directed against Bryan's royalists, who, being surprised, gave way in all directions. Tarleton's infantry were next forced to fall back on Brown's detachment; this, though fighting with great bravery, was in its turn compelled to give ground. The British troops retreating, formed themselves into a hollow square in the centre of their position. In the mean time the ranks of the militia had become disordered; many had been attracted by the plunder of the camp, and others had indulged too freely in the liquor which had been found in it. SUMTER, with the few troops that he could bring into array, made a determined advance upon the new position of the enemy; but the disorder had spread too deeply, and a sufficient number of men could not be assembled to make an impression on it. A retreat, therefore, was determined on. This was accomplished leisurely, and in the face of the enemy, who had suffered too severely to offer any interruption. When Gen. SUMTER began the action, his men had but ten rounds of ball each, and before its termination they were amply supplied from the stores of the British and Tories.

From the inattention of the militia to regular returns of the killed and wounded, the loss on the part of the Americans could not be ascertained; many of the wounded being carried home immediately from the field of battle. The loss of the enemy considerably exceeded our own. Of one hundred and sixty men of Tarleton's legion, they acknowledge sixty-two to have been killed and wounded; and their other corps suffered severely. Immediately after the action Gen. SUMTER crossed the Catawba. His reputation for enterprise and ability was now established. His success in the two latter instances would have been more decided, had it not been for his want of artillery, and the undisciplined nature of his troops. As it was, it raised the drooping spirits of the Whigs, and gave his men confidence in the skill and courage of their leader.

In the mean time Gen. Gates had entered South Carolina, and shortly afterwards his army took up a position at Rugely's Mills, not far from Gen. SUMTER's encampment. Receiving information that a detachment of the enemy was on its march from Ninety-six to Camden, with stores for the main army, SUMTER requested a reinforcement

from Gen. Gates to enable him to intercept it. Col. Woolford, of the Maryland line, with one hundred continentals, two pieces of cannon, and three hundred militia, were despatched to his assistance. Thus reinforced, on the morning of the 15th of August SUMTER appeared on the west bank of the Wateree, fell upon the convoy which was the object of the expedition, and succeeded in taking forty-four wagon loads of stores and clothing, together with a number of prisoners. On the evening of the 17th, SUMTER, who was on his retreat up the river, received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Camden, and of the total dispersion of the American army. Unhappily, his movement up the country had brought him into the immediate neighborhood of the British army. Encumbered as he was with prisoners and baggage, he immediately continued his retreat, and by the celerity of his movement, avoided a corps under the command of Col. Turnbull, which Lord Cornwallis had despatched against him. At noon on the 18th of August, he encamped his men on the north side of Fishing Creek, a small stream that falls into the Catawba about forty miles above Camden. Here the arms were stacked, videttes were posted; and the wearied troops, overcome by fatigue, enjoyed an interval of repose, rendered more agreeable by their previous exertions.

The day after the battle of Camden, Lord Cornwallis, fearing lest SUMTER might escape Col. Turnbull, had directed Col. Tarleton, with his legion and some light infantry, to move likewise in pursuit. After a rapid march, on the 17th, Col. Tarleton finding many of his men too fatigued to continue the pursuit, selected one hundred of the dragoons, together with about sixty of the light infantry, and pressed forward without intermission. Passing the Catawba at Rocky-Ford, he got into the rear of SUMTER, who was utterly unapprized of his approach. Two videttes, who fired upon his advance, being killed without the alarm being taken, Tarleton fell upon the camp, seized the arms of the Americans, and instantly charged them while confused, unprepared, and unarmed. A fearful slaughter followed. A few of the regulars taking post behind the wagons, offered some resistance; but it was soon suppressed, and the rout was universal. One hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, and over three hundred were made prisoners; while the stores and clothing previously captured, again fell into the hands of the enemy. SUMTER himself fortunately escaped unhurt. By this terrible blow, South Carolina was again left at the mercy of the conqueror; the few men under Marion constituting the sole force embodied for her protection.

Immediately on his defeat, SUMTER retired to the upper country,

where he was soon joined by a few of his men who had escaped the slaughter of the 18th. Volunteers flocked to his standard, and he was again in a condition to harass the enemy.

He ranged the district about the Enoree, Broad, and Tiger Rivers. His men being all mounted, were enabled to move about the country with speed and facility. When they approached an enemy, the horses were tied and left in charge of a few of the party; so that in defeat they afforded a safe retreat, in victory the means of pursuit.

In the early part of the fall, SUMTER was at the head of such a force as to attract towards him the attention of Lord Cornwallis; and Major Wemyss, with the sixty-third regiment and about forty of the legion cavalry, was despatched in pursuit of him. The former success of Tarleton inspired Wemyss with the hope of likewise surprising his enemy. Pushing forward with great celerity on the night of the 8th November, he reached the encampment of SUMTER on the bank of the Broad River. Fearing if he delayed till morning, SUMTER might be advised of his proximity, he determined upon an immediate attack. At one o'clock in the morning his troops advanced to the assault. Col. Wemyss, who was at the head of his men, fell by the fire of the picket, which was immediately driven in. The British troops pushed forward; but they found the Americans in arms, and ready to receive them. Unprepared to meet so firm a resistance, and discouraged by the fall of their leader, the British forces soon retreated with precipitation, leaving their commander and twenty men upon the ground. In the morning Col. Wemyss was discovered, badly wounded. He had been active in prosecuting the severe measures of Lord Cornwallis against those Whigs, who, contrary to a solemn compact, being called upon to join the British forces, had preferred the service of their countrymen. Some of the Whigs had been hanged by his orders, and he in person had attended their execution. In his pocket was found a list of the houses which he had burned. The paper being handed to General SUMTER, he immediately threw it into the fire, and ordered every attention to be paid to the prisoner. Col. Wemyss was shortly after permitted to go to Charleston on parole.

After the action, Gen. SUMTER crossed the Broad River, and effecting a junction with Cols. Clarke and Banner, who commanded parties of militia from the mountains, concerted with them measures for the surprise of Ninety-six. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting the designs of the American commander, hastily recalled Col. Tarleton, who at that time was absent on an expedition against Marion, directing him to join his forces to the sixty-third regiment, which had not yet returned from its

fruitless attack, and bring SUMTER to action. Col. Tarleton pursued his foe with the impetuosity by which he was characterized. SUMTER, receiving timely information of his approach, and not being strong enough to risk an engagement, retreated. On the afternoon of the 20th of Nov. he reached Blackstock's Hill, an eminence on the east bank of the Tiger River. Here he received information of the rapid approach of Col. Tarleton, who, apprehensive lest his prey should escape, had left behind him a majority of his troops, and was advancing at the head only of the legion cavalry and some mounted infantry of the sixty-third regiment; the whole amounting to about four hundred men. Confiding in the strength of his ground, Gen. SUMTER determined to await the approach of the enemy, and offer him battle. His centre was posted in some log buildings occupying the middle of the hill; his right was placed behind some rails, which were flanked by an inaccessible mountain; and his left was distributed in a piece of rugged ground covered by a bend of the river. A small brook ran in front of the whole, and the road to the ford passed directly through the centre of the position. On coming in view of the American position, Col. Tarleton was struck with its strength, and halting his men on an opposite eminence, determined to await the approach of the remainder of his force. A portion of his men were accordingly dismounted, until the arrival of his infantry should enable him to commence the battle. Observing the movement, SUMTER determined to bring on an immediate action. Accordingly a number of his militia were ordered to advance upon the British. A sharp conflict ensued; but the sixty-third charging with fixed bayonets, the militia were driven back. Pursuing their advantage too far, the sixty-third received a murderous fire from the buildings in which the American centre was posted, and were thrown into confusion. Col. Tarleton, seeing the dangerous situation in which the regiment was placed, attempted, by a vigorous charge up hill with his cavalry, to relieve them; but his men, thinned by the fire of the Americans, were forced to retire in disorder. A second attempt on the American left was attended with no better success. All his efforts proving ineffectual, Tarleton was forced to retreat with precipitation, leaving his wounded upon the field.

On this occasion the American loss amounted to but three men killed and four wounded. The British, according to their own accounts, lost more than fifty men; while the Americans, who from remaining masters of the field, had every opportunity of information, make it amount to ninety-two men killed and one hundred wounded. Unfortunately, among the small number wounded on the American side,

was General SUMTER, who received a musket ball in his breast near the right shoulder.

After burying the dead, and supplying the wounded of the enemy with every comfort in his power, Gen. SUMTER continued his retreat. Having reached a place of safety, the greater part of his followers dispersed, and he himself, guarded by a few of his faithful soldiers, was borne into North Carolina, there to wait till the healing of his wound should enable him to resume his active duties in the field. Shortly after this, Congress passed a vote directing their thanks to be presented to Gen. SUMTER and the troops under his command for their patriotism, bravery, and military conduct; at the same time particularizing the affair at Hanging Rock, the defeat of Major Wemyss, and the repulse of Col. Tarleton at Blackstocks.

When Col. Tarleton wrote to Cornwallis his version of the affair, Cornwallis in his answer said, "I shall be very glad to hear that SUMTER is in a condition to give us no further trouble; he certainly has been our greatest plague in this country." SUMTER was confined by his wound for several months, but in the early part of Feb. 1781, though still feeble, he was sufficiently recovered again to take the field.

General Greene was at that time retreating before Lord Cornwallis, while South Carolina was again left without a continental army. Under these circumstances, it was an important object to alarm the enemy for the safety of the posts which he had left behind him in the rapid pursuit of Greene. Assembling about two hundred and fifty North Carolina militia, and being joined by Col. Wade Hampton with a small reinforcement, SUMTER made a rapid movement upon Fort Granby, a post of the enemy situated on the south banks of the Congaree. Piles of rails were constructed so as to enable the marksmen to fire down upon the enemy, who were destitute of artillery. The attack was pressed so vigorously, that the British were on the point of yielding, when the appearance of Lord Rawdon on the opposite bank of the river, at the head of a superior force, compelled SUMTER to retreat. Retiring southward on the second day after the affair at Granby, he surprised and captured a detachment of fifty British troops, and a convoy of provisions and clothing which they were escorting. Unfortunately, the convoy, which was of the highest importance to the American army, being placed in boats and sent down the river, was retaken by the British posted at Fort Watson. Swimming his horses across the Santee, and transporting his men in canoes, SUMTER attempted to carry the post and recover the lost booty; but being unprovided with artillery, the attempt proved vain, and the Americans were repulsed.

After sheltering his men a few days in the swamps on the north side of the Santee, he moved towards the north-eastern part of the state, and encamped in the friendly neighborhood of Charlotte.

This expedition annoyed and distressed the enemy, by breaking up the communications between his posts, kept up the spirits of the Americans, and furnished Gen. SUMTER with a mass of information concerning the force and movements of the enemy. This last was immediately dispatched to Gen. Greene through Col. Hampton.

Gen. SUMTER's services had hitherto been performed altogether by means of militia, a species of force, in the then state of the country, constantly fluctuating in numbers, joining and leaving the camp with almost equal facility, and little to be depended on in expeditions which required time. He now attempted to enlist a body of men in the service of the state for ten months. While thus engaged, he received a letter from Gen. Greene, announcing the intention of the latter to permit Lord Cornwallis to pursue his march north without interruption from him, while he himself should again enter South Carolina, and attempt to drive the enemy from the southern states. In accordance with this plan, Gen. SUMTER was directed to procure provisions for the main army, to obtain all the information in his power, and to break up, as much as possible, the communications between the enemy's posts. SUMTER, in pursuance of these instructions, took the field on the 20th of April, with the men he had been able to raise. Several parties of the royalist militia were dispersed, and the country between the Broad, Saluda, and Wateree rivers completely swept. The importance of SUMTER's services at this period is shown by the frequency of his communications with Gen. Greene. Besides furnishing him with all the provisions he could collect. sometimes in the course of a day several letters containing information would be sent to the main army. On the 11th of May he made a sudden attack on the post at Orangeburg, and took near one hundred prisoners with a large supply of stores and provisions. About this time some difficulty occurring between Col. Lee and himself, SUMTER sent a remonstrance to Gen. Greene, enclosing his commission; the next day it was returned with many expressions of esteem, and SUMTER sacrificed his private discontent to the service of his country.

In July, when General Greene, on account of the ill-health prevalent in the army, retired to the high hills of Santee for the benefit of repose and purer atmosphere, he despatched Gen. SUMTER, having under him the corps of Marion and Lee, to break up the enemy's posts in the vicinity of Charleston, and to dislodge the nineteenth regiment

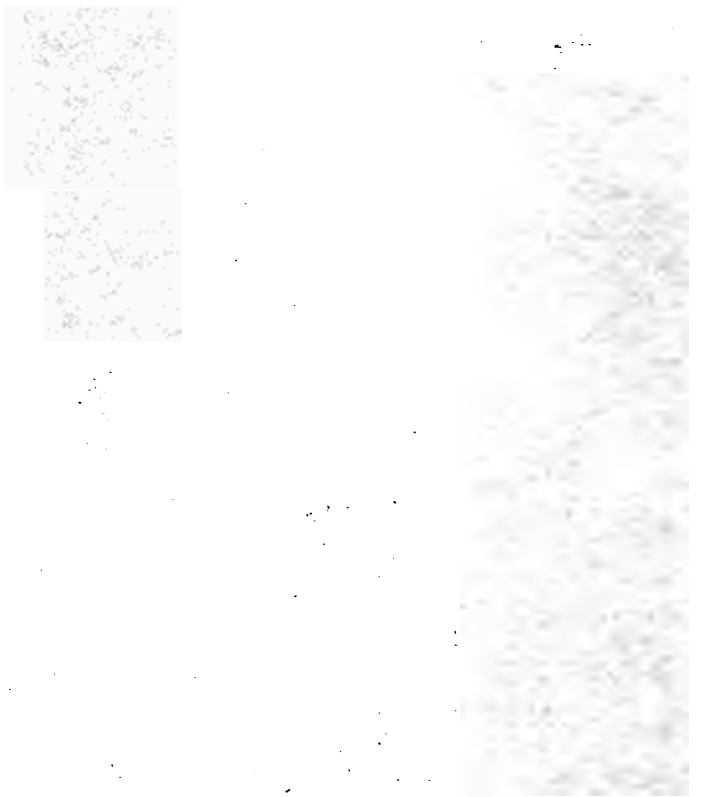
stationed at Monk's Corner. The country was swept to the gates of Charleston, the fort at Dorchester broken up, and a large party of mounted refugees were dispersed by Col. Wade Hampton, who commanded SUMTER's cavalry. The main object of the expedition, which was the nineteenth regiment, then posted at Monk's Corner, failed; Col. Coates retreating during the night over a bridge which had been deserted by the militia placed to guard it. On the following day SUMTER came up with the enemy, who had taken post in the house and the out-houses of Captain Shubrick; but being unprovided with artillery, after an ineffectual effort to dislodge them, he was obliged to give up the attempt.

After the expedition to Dorchester, SUMTER was compelled to retire to the upper country from indisposition; nor was he enabled again to take the field before the enemy were confined to the walls of Charleston. After the peace, he was for a long time a member of the American congress—first as a representative and afterwards as a senator. He lived respected alike for his talents and services, and died on the 1st of June, 1832, at his residence near the Bradford Springs, South Carolina, in the 98th year of his age.

SUMTER was tall and robust, with a bold and open countenance, expressive at once of energy and decision. As a partisan officer, his character was marked by courage, enterprize, and determination. "Greatly superior to General Marion in personal strength, and trusting less to stratagem and skill, he placed his fortune much more exclusively on his daring resolution and the execution of his sword. Warm in temperament and devoted to his country, whatever could contribute to rescue her from the invader and establish her independence, became an object of his ardent affection. He was also enamoured of brilliant achievement for its own sake. To victory, and the glory attending it, he would cut his way through every danger, regardless alike of his own blood and that of the enemy." At the head of a force inferior in equipment and discipline, and attached to their commander only by their confidence in his prowess and ability, he constantly kept the field against a veteran and superior enemy, commonly successful, and in defeat ever able to rally his men and renew the contest. On one unfortunate occasion he is perhaps justly chargeable with a negligence which led to the destruction of his party; but, instructed by experience, he was never again surprised, and both Wemyss and Tarleton felt the effect of his vigilance. In addition to his other qualities, SUMTER was invariably humane in a contest where the conduct of both parties had afforded a good excuse for retaliatory

cruelty. His conduct toward Wemyss and the wounded of Tarleton's legion will long remain evidence of a kindliness of nature not always to be found in the excited breast of the partisan.

This may not be an improper place to make a closing remark on the fact that not a few names of the most useful men in our revolutionary contest are almost lost to us. The principal histories of that conflict say little of the subject of this memoir, and of some others even less is recorded. This fact may be easily accounted for. Not a few representatives of families, as in the present instance, are comparatively indifferent to their fame; then again, historians themselves are apt to be partial and love to surround their special favorites with as much glory as possible, even at the expense of justice to others; and finally, those who are placed in the most prominent situations, must of necessity occupy the foreground of the picture. After all, however, the gratitude of their country is due to the noble men who compose the whole army, whether they hold important offices, or only obey those in superior stations. Nor does the true patriot object to this; for his object is, not to gain a name in history, but to serve his country. May we never need men indifferent to fame, but always have historians anxious to bestow and record it.



THOMAS MIFFLIN.

THOMAS MIFFLIN was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1744. His ancestors were of the society of *Friends*, and among the earliest settlers of Pennsylvania, and of the most respectable class. He was a graduate in the college of Philadelphia, and was distinguished for scholarship and genius. He ever afterwards retained a fondness for classical literature, and was well acquainted with the best writers. He was intended by his parents for a merchant, and, after leaving college, was placed in one of the first counting houses in the city. He subsequently made a voyage to Europe, and on his return entered into business with one of his brothers. His gay and generous temper, his extraordinary powers of conversation, with his frank and popular manners, made him, at a very early age, a decided favorite with his fellow-citizens. The city of Philadelphia was at that time represented in the state legislature by two burgesses, annually elected by the people. As the difficulties with the mother country were becoming serious and threatening, it was particularly important to advance to places of high public trust, men whose patriotic principles could be relied upon; and whose knowledge, talents, and force of character qualified them to serve the country faithfully and efficiently in the impending danger. THOMAS MIFFLIN was elected in 1772, although but twenty-eight years of age, as one of the burgesses to represent the city in the general assembly of the state. Two years afterwards he was appointed one of the delegates from the state to the first congress.

The occasion now occurred to call forth, and exhibit to advantage, his peculiar talents. No man of our country has excelled him in the fire, energy, and effect of his addresses to an assembly of the people. There was an earnest,—a fascinating animation in his manner, which touched every heart; a perspicuity in his ideas which every man could understand; and a propriety, strength, and point in his language, which, altogether, was irresistible upon his audience. He knew exactly how and

where to strike the public feeling. The news of the battle of Lexington presented a noble and interesting opportunity for the display of his powers of eloquence. Many addresses were delivered, such as the solemnity of the subject and patriotism of the orators dictated; but MIFFLIN, although the youngest of the speakers, took the bold and decisive ground of a steady adherence to the resolutions which were then offered and adopted. In a memoir of his life read to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the conclusion of his address is thus quoted—"Let us not be bold in declarations and afterwards cold in action. Let not the patriotic feeling of to-day be forgotten to-morrow; nor have it said of Philadelphia, that she passed noble resolutions, slept upon them, and afterwards neglected them." This was high language for that day, although the men of the present time, when our country has become powerful and proud, can scarcely believe it. But MIFFLIN did not preach a doctrine which he would not himself follow; he did not begin and end his fit of patriotism with brave words and brilliant speeches, in which there might have been as much of vanity as love of country. He did not go home to sleep upon and forget the resolutions he so warmly recommended to others. He followed them by corresponding actions, and entered at once into the military service. Companies and regiments for the assertion and defence of American liberties and rights were spontaneously formed, and MIFFLIN was appointed the major of one of the regiments. To wait until danger came upon him did not suit his ardent spirit; he determined to seek it, and accordingly joined the camp then formed at Boston. He very soon distinguished himself there by opposing a detachment of the British army sent to collect cattle from the neighborhood. An officer of high rank, who was a witness of this proceeding, declared that he "never saw a greater display of personal bravery than was exhibited on this occasion in the cool and intrepid conduct of Colonel MIFFLIN." A short time after the withdrawal of the British troops from Boston, Colonel MIFFLIN received from congress the commission of brigadier-general; having previously performed, in a most satisfactory manner, the arduous duties of quarter-master-general. The high opinion which congress entertained of the talents, judgment, and zeal in the great cause, of General MIFFLIN, was manifested by a resolution of 25th of May, 1776, appointing a committee to confer with General Washington, General Gates, and General MIFFLIN, "touching the frontiers towards Canada." To be associated with such men in such a service, at the age of *thirty-two*, was a most gratifying honor.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

In the fall of 1776 American affairs bore a most desponding aspect, and American liberty was drooping, almost to despair. The people, even many who set out bravely on the onset, were becoming weary, discontented, and disheartened with a contest in which they no longer saw any hope of success. The army was melting away, and the shattered remnant which stood to their arms and flag had ceased to look for victory in the battle field, and were satisfied to find refuge from a conquering enemy in secure positions. In this gloomy state of the country, her leading and undaunted patriots determined to make an attempt to revive the spirit of the preceding year by personal appeals to the patriotism and honorable feelings of the people. The peculiar eloquence of General MIFFLIN was exactly what was wanted for this purpose, and he was directed to go into the counties of Pennsylvania, "to exhort and rouse the militia to come forth in defence of their country." His selection for this service is mentioned by Marshall in his Life of Washington; who says, that "the exertions of General MIFFLIN, who had been commissioned to raise the militia of Pennsylvania, though they made but little impression on the state at large, were attended with some degree of success in Philadelphia. A large proportion of the inhabitants of that city had associated for the defence of their country; and on this occasion fifteen hundred of them marched to Trenton." General Washington had given up his design of marching to Princeton on receiving intelligence that Lord Cornwallis was rapidly advancing from Brunswick, and had passed the Delaware; the British then occupying Trenton. General MIFFLIN was again despatched to Philadelphia to take charge of the numerous stores in that place. "The utmost exertions," says Marshall, "were made by the civil authority to raise the militia." General MIFFLIN was directed to "repair immediately to the neighboring counties, and endeavor, by all the means in his power, to rouse and bring in the militia to the defence of Philadelphia." Congress also declared that they deemed it of great importance to the general safety that "General MIFFLIN should make a progress through several of the counties of the state of Pennsylvania, to rouse the freemen thereof to the immediate defence of the city and country;" and they resolved "that the assembly be requested to appoint a committee of their body to make the tour with him, and assist in this good and necessary work." General MIFFLIN cheerfully accepted this *good* and *necessary* mission, and executed it with his usual ability and zeal. He assembled the people at convenient places, and poured forth his exciting eloquence in meeting-houses, churches, and court-

houses; from pulpits sacred to the offices of religion, and the judgment seats of the law. The battle of Princeton, in January, 1777, immediately followed these exertions; and the victories of Trenton and Princeton may be considered as having assured and sealed American independence. General MIFFLIN was present at Princeton, and makes a conspicuous figure in Col. Trumbull's painting of that memorable conflict. In the following February congress raised General MIFFLIN to the rank of *Major-General.*

Although the health of General MIFFLIN was considerably impaired by his constant and various labors in the military service of his country, he continued in it to the end of the war; and he enjoyed, with his co-laborers in the great work, the unspeakable happiness of seeing the independence and liberties of his country firmly and for ever established. He had maintained and augmented the attachment of his fellow-citizens to him, and in 1783 was appointed, by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of congress. By that illustrious body of true *American patriots*, he was, in the fall of the same year, elevated to the seat of their president. In this capacity he received from General Washington the resignation of his commission of Commander-in-chief of the American army. It was his duty to reply to the address of Washington on this august occasion, which, in all its interesting circumstances, has no parallel in the history of human affairs. Both addresses were such as would be expected from the respective officers.

In 1785 General MIFFLIN was chosen a member of the legislature of Pennsylvania, and elected the speaker of that body. In 1788 he became president of the supreme executive council of the state, under the constitution of that day. In 1787 the great convention assembled at Philadelphia to frame a government for the United States, (then sinking into anarchy and ruin because they had no government,) which should "form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." A more dignified and solemn trust was never committed to human agency. The destinies of a great empire, of innumerable millions of men, were placed in their hands; and never was a trust more faithfully, more wisely, more successfully performed. In this illustrious assembly General MIFFLIN was one of the representatives of Pennsylvania. We cannot withstand the temptation to note the names of his colleagues in this delegation, that it may be seen to what sort of men the people of that day entrusted their high concerns.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

The Pennsylvania delegation consisted of—*Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris!*

Soon after the adoption of the constitution of the United States, a convention was called by the people of Pennsylvania to reform their plan of government. Of this convention General MIFFLIN was a member, and the president. He had, as he had shown when speaker of the house of assembly, an unusual fitness for presiding over such assemblies. He was prompt and decisive, and exercised his authority with dignity and impartiality. When the constitution, formed and adopted by this convention, went into operation, General MIFFLIN was elected the first governor, in whose hands the whole executive power of the state was placed, and he continued to hold the office, by reëlections, for the whole constitutional term, to wit, nine years.

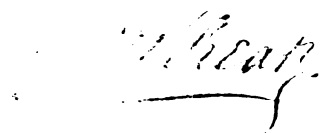
It will be remembered that it was during Governor MIFFLIN'S administration of the state government, that the insolent conduct of the ministers of revolutionary France disturbed the quiet of our country, by endeavoring to organize a regular opposition to the federal administration, then in the hands of President Washington. The feelings of our people were highly excited in favor of what they thought was *republican France.* The French ministers presuming upon this feeling, and ignorant of the superior and steady attachment of our citizens to their own country and government, assumed to exercise sovereign powers within the territories of the United States. The governor of Pennsylvania, in common with a great majority of our citizens, entertained a strong predilection for the French people and their cause. But this did not lead him to forget or neglect the duties which, as the governor of Pennsylvania, he owed to the government of the Union. When the president found it necessary to call upon him for his aid in executing the laws, and maintaining the authority of the United States, the requisition was promptly complied with.

In 1794, in the midst of the excitement about French affairs, and not without some connexion with it, an insurrection broke out in some of the western counties of Pennsylvania, immediately inflamed by the imposition of certain internal taxes, particularly that on whiskey. The government of the United States, whose laws were thus defied and opposed by force, was obliged to take the field to quell the insurgents. On the call of the president, Governor MIFFLIN marched at the head of the quota of militia demanded of Pennsylvania; and putting aside all the pride of rank and etiquette, served under General Lee, the governor of Virginia, who had been inferior to Governor

MIFFLIN in rank in the army of the war of revolution; and although the service to be performed was in Governor MIFFLIN's own state. Speaking of this insurrection, *Marshall* says—"By his personal exertions the governor of Pennsylvania compensated for the defects in the militia laws of that state. From some inadvertence, as was said, on the part of the brigade inspectors, the militia could not be drafted; and, consequently, the quota of Pennsylvania could be complied with only by volunteers. The governor, who was endowed with a high degree of popular eloquence, made a circuit through the lower counties of the state, and publicly addressed the militia at different places, where he had caused them to be assembled, on the crisis in the affairs of their country. So successful were these animating exhortations, that Pennsylvania was not behind her sister states in furnishing the quota required from her."

Governor MIFFLIN took his leave of the legislature on the 7th of December, 1799; and having been elected a member of the house of representatives, he took his seat in that assembly. His health was now exceedingly impaired; he had frequent attacks of the gout, which generally struck at his stomach. After a short confinement, he died on the 20th of January 1800, at Lancaster, at that time the seat of government. Resolutions were passed by the legislature expressive of the high sense entertained of his public services as a soldier and a statesman; his interment was provided for at the public expense, and a monument erected to his memory.

Governor MIFFLIN, from his early youth to the hour of his death, was in the service of his country, and always in a prominent position. He maintained the confidence and favor of his fellow-citizens from the first to the last, without a moment's interruption or abatement; they, indeed, went on increasing. In his personal appearance he was uncommonly handsome; rather below the ordinary height; but his form was in such good proportion, and so firmly set, that he was admirably calculated for any exertion of activity or endurance of fatigue. There was an extraordinary brilliancy in his eye; an animation and point in his conversation, which fastened upon all who listened to him. He was an ardent and sincere friend, and nobody sooner forgot an injury. His purse was too freely open to every call upon it, and his habits of expense too improvident for his own interest and comfort. A contemporary officer of the revolution, by no means a personal friend, says that he was a man of "education, of ready apprehension and brilliancy, and possessed fortitude equal to any demands that might be made upon it."



THOMAS McKEAN.

THE facility with which the patriots of the American Revolution passed from the excitement and turbulence of war to the cultivation of the arts of peace, is one of the most remarkable of the numerous excellencies for which they were conspicuous. They did not merely convert weapons of warfare into implements of agriculture. They displayed in civil occupations those exalted intellectual qualities which are usually the growth of peaceful nurture, but which in them seemed to spring up spontaneously, in defiance of adverse circumstances and perilous commotions. Perhaps the very concussion of society may have elicited the sparks of genius which otherwise would have lain inert, and never have been brought into existence.

We have been led to these remarks by contemplating the character of an eminent lawyer and statesman, the foundation of whose greatness was laid amidst the perils of a revolution. The condition of Chief Justice McKEAN was similar to that of a majority of our illustrious countrymen, who acquired in war the qualities essential to distinction in peace. The subject of this memoir was a native of the county of Chester, in the province of Pennsylvania, and was born on the nineteenth day of March, A. D. 1734.

He received his academical education under the superintendence of the Rev. Francis Allison, a scholar and divine, eminent for piety and learning; and after having acquired the customary branches of knowledge, he commenced the study of the law in the office of his relative, David Finney, Esq. at New Castle in Delaware. During the continuance of his studies, he performed the duties of Clerk of the Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, and subsequently became Deputy Prothonotary, and Register for the probate of wills, &c. for the County of Newcastle, the whole labor of which devolved upon him in consequence of the absence of his principal.

His career at the bar, to which he was admitted to practice before he had arrived at the age of twenty-one years, was rapid; and

extended to his native county of Chester and to the city of Philadelphia. In 1756 he was appointed deputy of the Attorney-General to prosecute in the County of Sussex, which appointment he resigned after having, in a creditable manner, fulfilled its duties for two years. In 1757 he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and was without solicitation elected clerk of the Assembly, which appointment was renewed on the following year, but was subsequently declined. Another evidence of his merit and growing reputation was exhibited by his having been selected by the Legislature, together with Cæsar Rodney, Esq. in 1762, to print and revise the laws enacted since 1752; an important and responsible duty, which was executed with promptness and success.

The early part of his life having been thus devoted to the acquisition of practical knowledge, to the improvement of his abilities, and to the establishment of a broad foundation for his reputation, he was admirably well prepared, for a long and active career of public life. His qualifications were extensive, and his habits of industry firmly settled. The scene which was before him, was full of difficulty and peril. He, however, advanced with resolution, and being thoroughly prepared for every emergency, was enabled to sustain himself amidst the most complicated and hazardous embarrassments which the condition of public affairs produced.

In 1762, as a member of the Assembly from the County of New Castle, he commenced that active participation in politics which he continued for nearly half a century, during which time few great events transpired with which he was not connected, and associated his name with the momentous transactions of the Revolution. During seventeen years he was annually re-elected in opposition to his avowed inclination, and notwithstanding repeated communications from him to his constituents, through the newspapers, declining a re-election. This is the more remarkable from the circumstance, that for the space of six years of that time he resided in the city of Philadelphia. It exhibits a singular proof of confidence on the part of the constituents, and fidelity in the representative.

His repeated solicitations, to be relieved from his official burthen, having been disregarded, he appeared on the 1st of October 1777, the day of the general election, at New Castle; and after delivering a long and eloquent address to his constituents on the condition of public affairs, succeeded in withdrawing his name as a candidate. But no sooner had he accomplished this object, than the confidence of the

people placed him in a situation of singular delicacy and embarrassment.

A committee, composed of six persons, called upon him in the name of the electors, and after expressing the reluctance with which they acquiesced in his determination no longer to be their representative, desired that, in consequence of the critical posture of affairs and their confidence in his judgment, he would recommend seven persons in whom they might confide as representatives for that county. Mr. McKEAN made his grateful acknowledgments for so distinguished a compliment, but struggled to be excused from a duty calculated to give offence to his friends; and assured them that he knew not only seven, but seventy of the gentlemen present at the election whom he believed to be deserving of their suffrages. The electors, however, persisted in their purpose, and the committee having returned to Mr. McKEAN, and informed him that a compliance with the popular will would not only not give offence to any individual, but would confer a benefit on the country, he wrote the names of seven persons, who were elected. Of the eighteen hundred electors present, the lowest of the gentlemen named by Mr. McKEAN, on the ballot wanted less than two hundred votes of that number.

So distinguished a proof of confidence made a deep impression on his mind, and is of itself conclusive evidence of his devotion to the public service, and the commanding integrity of his life. The experience of modern times, however, demonstrates that personal merit, unaided by the peculiar condition of society, could not have been the sole cause of the distinction. Merit in the constituents is essential to such a result. The crowd of aspirants after official importance will readily dispense with the services of an incumbent, however necessary they may be to the country, and will supply vacancies without requiring the prompting or advice of others. Mr. McKEAN's constituents were of a peculiar order. They conferred distinction on merit without stint or envy; and having once tested the fidelity of their representative, they—

> "Grappled him to their souls with hooks of steel;
> *And did not* dull their palms with entertainment
> Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged *candidate.*"

In 1764 the Legislature gave an additional proof of its confidence, by appointing him to be one of the three trustees of the loan office for New Castle County, which station he filled until the year 1772.

The controversy with Great Britain, which was fruitful of so many

thrilling incidents, and brought so many powerful minds into action, displayed itself about this period like a speck on the horizon; and to any other than the sagacious patriots of America would hardly have seemed to portend a storm. But the legislation of the British Parliament could not escape the vigilance of Colonial jurists. The arrogance of British statesmen might look with contempt, on the apparent simplicity of a race of men whom they affected to believe had degenerated from the parent stock; but the event proved that there were veins of intellectual wealth pervading our country not surpassed in extent and value by any in Europe; and that it only required the impulse of oppression to bring into active operation moral and mental powers, which have commanded the admiration of mankind.

Mr. McKean represented the Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, in the Congress which assembled at New-York in October, 1768. His intrepidity soon gained for him distinction. He actively engaged in their proceedings, and vindicated a course of inflexible firmness. The president and several members having refused, through timidity, to sign the proceedings, Mr. McKean so warmly displayed his indignation, that he became involved in a personal controversy, but which resulted in an increase of his reputation, and in the exposure of his antagonists to popular obloquy. On his return to New Castle, he and his colleague Mr. Rodney received the unanimous thanks of the Legislature for the energy and abilities with which they had performed their duties in Congress.

During this year he was appointed Notary Public for the lower counties of Delaware, and was also raised to the Bench, having received a commission as a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, quarter Sessions, and Orphan's Court for the County of New Castle. His energy was not out of place in the judicial station; for the court displayed an act of intrepidity which closely resembles the daring spirit by which he was actuated at every period of his life. The officers of the court were ordered to perform their duties as usual on unstamped paper, and thus he promptly repudiated an unconstitutional act of Parliament.

If we are to judge of the estimation in which he was held by the number and variety of his public employments, a high rank must be assigned to him, for his services seem constantly to have been in requisition. In 1769 he was sent by the Assembly to New York to obtain copies of all documents relating to real estate in the lower counties of Delaware prior to 1700; in 1771 he was appointed by the Commissioners of his Majesty's customs, collector of the port of New

Castle, and in October, 1772, he became the speaker of the House of Representatives.

Notwithstanding he had fixed his residence permanently in Philadelphia, the affection of his old constituents followed him, and he was appointed by the lower counties of Delaware a delegate to the Congress of 1774. Their confidence continued with undeviating constancy, and was exhibited by an annual re-election until the restoration of peace in 1783, a distinction which was peculiar to himself, there being no other example of an unbroken term of service during that space of time. The convenience of his location at the place of the meeting of Congress may have induced the Delawarians to have selected him, and the absence of extensive pecuniary means of defraying the expenses of a delegate, may have quieted the aspiring spirits of rival candidates, and thus have thrown power into the hands of a man who systematically disregarded selfish considerations.

The business of Congress was promptly and efficiently transacted by the aid of his indefatigable and enlightened services. The extent and variety of his labors could only be fully appreciated by his coadjutors in the many secret committees which were occupied in the constant investigation of the affairs of a nation, and struggling to devise the means of carrying it triumphantly through a long and desolating conflict. In June, 1775, he was a member of the committee which prepared and reported the articles of confederation, which however were not finally agreed to, until late in the following year, and not ratified by all the States until March 1781, when the State of Maryland authorised her delegates to concur.

In addition to his other public duties, he was President of the convention of deputies from the committee of Pennsylvania, held at Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia, in June 1776, who recommended a Declaration of Independence by Congress; a similar resolution having been previously adopted in the month of May by the regiment of Associators of which he was the colonel. In the same year he was chairman of the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, of the Committee of observation and inspection for the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and of a conference of delegates in Congress from the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; thus exhibiting himself as a prominent and untiring laborer in a glorious but most perilous conflict.

A slight knowledge of the character of Mr. McKEAN will prepare us to find him in that intrepid rank of patriotic men who projected the independence of their country, and at the risk of their lives severed

the tie which bound her to the British dominions. He was the earnest advocate of the propriety of making a Declaration of Independence, and its undaunted supporter after the measure had been adopted. Mr. Rodney, one of the three delegates from Delaware, being absent on the first of July, when Independence was resolved on in Committee of the whole, and Mr. Read and Mr. McKean differing in opinion, the vote of Delaware would have been lost, had not the zeal of Mr. McKean induced him to send an express at his private expense for Mr. Rodney. That gentleman arrived on the morning of the fourth, and uniting with Mr. McKean, gave the vote of Delaware in favor of Independence; by which means that measure was adopted with the concurrence of all the States. In consequence of his absence, performing military services for several months immediately succeeding the fourth of July, an opportunity did not occur until the month of October of affixing his signature to the Declaration, engrossed on parchment.

But it was not merely in a civil capacity that Mr. McKean acquired distinction. He performed the duties of a soldier with firmness and activity. A pitched battle might have ranked him among the military heroes of our country. Although he was never in a regular engagement, his personal risk was great, and his exertions ardent. The services of the militia of Pennsylvania having been required in New Jersey, Mr. McKean, as colonel of a regiment, marched a few days after the Declaration of Independence to Perth Amboy, to support General Washington, and continued in active service until the occasion which called them to camp had ceased. In the performance of military duty he faced the cannon's mouth, and had his capacity as a soldier fully tested by his exposure to a heavy firing from the enemy's batteries.

He had no sooner resumed his seat in Congress, than his attendance at Dover, as a member of the convention for forming a Constitution for Delaware, was required. On his arrival, after a fatiguing ride, he was met by a committee, who requested him to write a constitution for them. The labor occupied the night. The constitution written by him was presented at 10 o'clock the next morning, and unanimously adopted.

On the 28th of July, 1777, he was commissioned by the Supreme Executive council of Pennsylvania as Chief Justice, a station which he filled with distinguished ability for twenty-two years. As the nation was just emerging from a Colonial condition, and as the disturbed state of society unsettled the rights of property, great and novel questions were constantly occurring, which required a court of more

than ordinary sagacity, firmness, and learning to determine. Chief Justice McKean displayed qualifications equal to the emergencies of the times; and, independently of the high authority of his opinions, his character as a great judge has descended, in prominent relief, to posterity.

In the performance of his judicial functions he displayed a firmness which no danger could affect; at one time braving the power of Great Britain by the punishment of treason against his country, and at another stemming the torrent of popular excitement by shielding the accused from illegal punishment.

When we reflect that at the time of his appointment to the office of Chief Justice he was a member of Congress, speaker of the Assembly, President of Delaware, and that in July, 1781, he occupied the station of President of Congress, we can form an estimate of the vast labor which he performed, and of the unwearied application requisite to master the complicated details of litigated cases, essential to the faithful fulfilment of his judicial duties. Yet amidst the violence of party animosity in which he was extensively involved, his enemies do not seem to have charged him with the neglect of any of his duties, although his filling so many offices became the ground of complaint.

Mr. McKean struggled to obtain relief from the great burthen of public affairs which was heaped upon him. His health and fortune were impaired, by his attention to public business. As a delegate in Congress, he had never received sufficient to defray his expenses; and for two years he had neither been offered nor received any compensation. The Legislature of Delaware, however, declined accepting his resignation; and although Congress, on the twenty-third of October, 1781, accepted his resignation as president, on the next day they requested him to resume that station until the fifth of the following November, when, having elected an officer to supply his place, they relieved him from the duties of the chair, and rewarded him by a vote of thanks.

Chief Justice McKean was often exposed to party animosity. His integrity and great public services carried him through the fiery ordeal unscathed. The confidence of his countrymen sustained him in every trial. His ardent temperament and energy of character, were always accompanied by disinterested patriotism, and strength of intellect. An unsuccessful attempt was made to impeach him when performing the duties of Chief Justice. But his reputation remained unsullied, and his career of usefulness was not yet terminated.

In 1787 Chief Justice McKean was a member of the Convention

of Pennsylvania which ratified the Constitution of the United States, a measure which he advocated with all his zeal and ability. "I have gone," said he, "through the circle of office, in the Legislature, Executive, and Judicial departments of government; and from all my study, observation, and experience, I must declare, that from a full examination and due consideration of this system, it appears to me the best the world has yet seen. I congratulate you on the fair prospect of its being adopted, and am happy in the expectation of seeing accomplished what has long been my ardent wish, that you will hereafter have a salutary permanency in magistracy and stability in the laws."

He was always the advocate of the rights of the smaller States, which he struggled to protect from the encroachments of the larger members of the confederacy. In the Congress of 1765, and in that of 1774, he insisted that they should vote by States, which course was adopted. Although he was not a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, he took a deep interest in their proceedings, and exerted his influence to secure the adoption of his favorite principle, of an equal vote in national proceedings by all the States. He furnished the delegates from Delaware with notes of his arguments on former occasions, when the question was discussed in Congress, and urged upon the members from the larger, the propriety of securing the rights of the smaller States. An equal representation in the Senate of the United States, accomplished his object.

In 1789 Chief Justice McKean was elected a delegate, from the city of Philadelphia to the Convention, to amend the Constitution of Pennsylvania. He engaged in the performance of his duties with his usual earnestness; but as he mostly occupied the chair when the Convention was in Committee of the whole, he was precluded from a very active participation in the debate. A proposition for the gratuitous education of the poor was suggested by him as an amendment to Mr. Wilson's resolution for the establishment of schools, both of which provisions were incorporated in the section of the Constitution, which, on the motion of Mr. Pickering, was finally adopted.

After a warm party conflict, he was, in the year 1799, elected Governor of Pennsylvania, which station he filled for nine years. The extensive patronage of the Executive of Pennsylvania, renders the possession of that office essential to party ascendency, and consequently the acquisition agitates the commonwealth with the most violent party commotions. In the conflict the public good is too often overlooked; and he who gains the victory, is too apt to consider the

emoluments of public employment as the appropriate reward for services rendered to a party.

Experience and skill are too often dispensed with, and the undisciplined incumbent naturally strives during the brief and uncertain space of his official career, to reap as large a share as practicable of the pecuniary benefits of his station. It is to be regretted that a man of Governor McKean's high standing and independent spirit should have yielded to the dominion of party feeling, and have sanctioned by his high authority the practice of removing from office on mere party grounds, which has so completely gained the ascendency in the State, and been so prolific of mischief to the public service. He, however, did not hesitate to remove his political antagonists, and frankly avowed his motives. "It is at least imprudent," said he in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, "to foster spies continually about one's self. I am only sorry that I did not displace ten or eleven more: for it is not right to put a dagger in the hands of an assassin." The violence of his animosity did not, however, continue without intermission; for after his administration became firmly settled, he distinguished merit in the ranks of his opponents, and elevated men to office who belonged to the party opposed to him.

Swayed, as he occasionally was, by party feeling, the general tenor of his administration was marked by his accustomed ability and devotion to the public welfare. The extent of his knowledge, the vigor of his language, and the ardor of his patriotism, gave him a lofty station in the confidence of the people, and sustained the popularity of his administration. In the years 1807 and 1808 another attempt was made to impeach him, which drew from him a vigorous and successful defence.

In the exercise of the important and delicate power of appointment, he acted from the impulse of his own mind, and disdained to submit to party dictation. With a strongly marked character, and feelings inured to independence, his errors and his virtues emanated from his own breast, and were not derived from an imitation of others or from a compliance with their views of propriety. Lofty and inflexible, he pursued that course which he believed to be right, and met the consequences of public scrutiny, and the menace of popular condemnation, with a fearless consciousness of rectitude.

In the year 1803 he declined an urgent solicitation to become a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Union, and at the close of the year 1808, having served as Governor during the constitutional period of nine years, he finally retired from public life, and sought, in

the endearments of domestic life, and in the cultivation of literature, the enjoyments congenial to his age and inclination. He survived his retirement about nine years, and, separated from all causes of irritation, enjoyed the unbounded respect and gratitude of the people whom he had so efficiently served.

In the year 1814, when the rapid advances of the British awakened apprehensions for the safety of Philadelphia, which was almost entirely unprotected, a town meeting was convened in Independence Square to devise measures for its security, The venerable patriot attended, and his appearance was loudly greeted by the assembled multitude, who unanimously called him to the chair. He briefly addressed the meeting, aroused a spirit of devotion to their country, and endeavored to soothe all dissentions by reminding them "that there were then but two parties, our country and its invaders." His speech was in the spirit of times which were past, and was recognised as the voice of a patriot and a sage. Prompt and effective measures were the result of the meeting.

Governor McKean's deportment was dignified and impressive. His fortitude, energy, and industry, were fully exhibited in his conduct throughout life, whilst his public integrity has often been the theme of commendation; his private character seems to have escaped reproach. He was twice married; once in 1762 to Miss Mary Borden of Bordentown, and in 1774 to Miss Sarah Armitage of New Castle, Delaware.

He died on the twenty-fourth of June, 1817, aged eighty-three years two months and sixteen days; and was interred in the burial ground of the first Presbyterian Church in Market Street, Philadelphia.

In reviewing the lives of patriotic men, who have devoted their abilities to the service of the republic, it is gratifying to dwell on illustrious actions, upon which posterity pronounces an unanimous verdict of approbation. Differences of opinion on abstract points, or on temporary measures, are overlooked in contemplating a career distinguished for patriotic devotion to the public service. Party feeling subsides, human infirmity is forgotten, and the reputation of the patriot survives for ages. The fame of Governor McKean is identified with some of the most important events of our country. History, in recording them, will recount the virtues and the privations by which they were accomplished.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

Francis Hopkinson, the son of Thomas and Mary Hopkinson, was born at Philadelphia in the year 1738. His mother was the niece of the Bishop of Worcester; and his father and mother, immediately after their marriage, which took place in England, came to Philadelphia, and continued to reside there until their respective deaths. His father was a man of genius, and a highly educated scholar; he was the intimate friend and scientific coadjutor of Dr. Franklin, to whom he first exhibited the experiment to prove that the electric fluid may be silently drawn off from a body charged with it, by a pointed instrument, without making the explosion and shock which attends a discharge by a blunt body. The excellent practical use to which the sagacity of Franklin turned this discovery, is well known. Thomas Hopkinson died at an early age, leaving a widow and several children, of whom Francis, then not more than fourteen years old, was the eldest. Shortly after the death of his father, Francis entered the college of Philadelphia, of which his father had been one of the most active founders, as he was of the "Philadelphia Library," and other public institutions. Francis was one of the first graduates of this college, and the estimation in which he was held there, is manifested by the following extract from the minutes of the board of trustees of May 20, 1766: "It was resolved, that as Francis Hopkinson, Esq., who was the first scholar in this seminary at its opening, and likewise one of the first who received a degree, was about to embark for England, and has done honor to the place of his education by his abilities and good morals, as well as rendered it many substantial services on all public occasions, the thanks of this institution ought to be delivered to him in the most affectionate and respectful manner."

After completing his collegiate education, Francis entered the office of Benjamin Chew, Esq., as a student of law, and went through a regular course of study under the direction of that eminent jurist, then the attorney-general of Pennsylvania. In addition to the studies

connected with his profession, Mr. HOPKINSON gave a close application to literary and scientific pursuits, in which he delighted, until his departure for England in 1766. He remained abroad about two years, residing with his maternal relation, the Bishop of Worcester, with whom he became a great favorite, and very flattering prospects were held out to him to induce him to fix himself permanently in England. He was not to be weaned from his own country. His time in England was occupied, not with frivolous amusements, but in expanding and strengthening his faculties, and acquiring knowledge in every branch of liberal and useful science. His pen was not idle, but occasionally employed in essays in prose and verse, in which the good taste, pure morality, and brilliant wit, which always distinguished his writings, were displayed.

Soon after his return to his native city, in 1768, he married *Miss Ann Borden*, of Bordentown, New Jersey. The discontents between the colonies and the mother country were now darkening into determined hostility, and assuming the threatening aspect which afterwards broke out into open defiance and war. Mr. HOPKINSON had no hesitation as to the part he should take in this appalling controversy. The cause of his country was as dear to his heart as its justice was manifest to his judgment. He took his ground firmly and for ever at the first opening of the breach. He began with his pen, the only weapon then employed by the colonists, and published, in 1774, a pamphlet entitled "*A Pretty Story*," in which he portrayed, with a free and pungent pencil, the unjust and oppressive pretensions of England, the unalienable rights of the colonies, and their true loyalty and affection for their rash and misguided mother. This pamphlet was widely circulated, was read with avidity, and was believed to have had a prevailing influence on the public opinion and feeling. During the whole contest, Mr. HOPKINSON was never idle with his pen, even while discharging important and laborious public duties; but seized on every occasion to expose by argument, or hold up to ridicule and scorn, the shallow pretences, the oppressive claims, and wanton cruelties of the enemy. As to the character of his wit, and the effect of his writings, they are spoken of by a distinguished author and patriot, who was a contemporary, in this language: "Mr. HOPKINSON possessed uncommon talents for pleasing. His wit was not of that coarse kind which was calculated to 'set the table in a roar.' It was mild and elegant, and infused cheerfulness and a species of delicate joy, rather than mirth, into the hearts of all who heard it. His empire over the attention and passions of his company was not purchased at the expense

of innocence. A person who has passed many delightful hours in his society, declares with pleasure that he never heard him use a profane expression, nor utter a word that would have made a lady blush, or have clouded her countenance with a look of disapprobation. It is this species of wit alone that indicates a rich and powerful imagination; while that which is tinctured with profanity or indelicacy, argues poverty of genius, inasmuch as they have both been considered, very properly, as the cheapest productions of the human mind."

In the memorable year 1776, Mr. HOPKINSON, then residing at Bordentown, was appointed a delegate of the state of New Jersey to the congress of the United Colonies. His name will be found subscribed, like the rest, *firmly written*, to the "Declaration of Independence." The courage and devoted patriotism of that illustrious act can hardly be appreciated by this generation; but those who did it well knew that they were doomed men, and that they threw their lives on the stake; and that, should the struggle be unfortunate, they could never hope for forgiveness, whatever lenity might be extended to others. After this period Mr. HOPKINSON held an appointment in the loan office, and then received the commission of judge of the admiralty for the state of Pennsylvania. His decisions in that high and responsible office have been published since his death, and are received by the bench and the profession with high respect. His judgments were results of legal learning, aided by great acuteness and a steady eye to the justice and truth of the case. It should be recollected that this branch of jurisprudence, now so extended and full, was at that time comparatively new, and growing into the importance it has assumed.

The war concluded and independence achieved, the country was found in a deplorable state of poverty and weakness. The incompetency of our imperfect confederation was not only seen and felt, but was bringing us rapidly to anarchy and dissolution. The great, and wise, and virtuous men who then watched the destinies of their country, and labored to secure for her for ever the blessings they had obtained by their constancy and courage, saw that these could be gained only by establishing a "more perfect union." For this purpose the *great convention* assembled at Philadelphia in 1787; and after much deliberation, discussion, and patriotic concession, agreed upon and submitted to the people of the United States a form of government which they earnestly recommended to their adoption and support

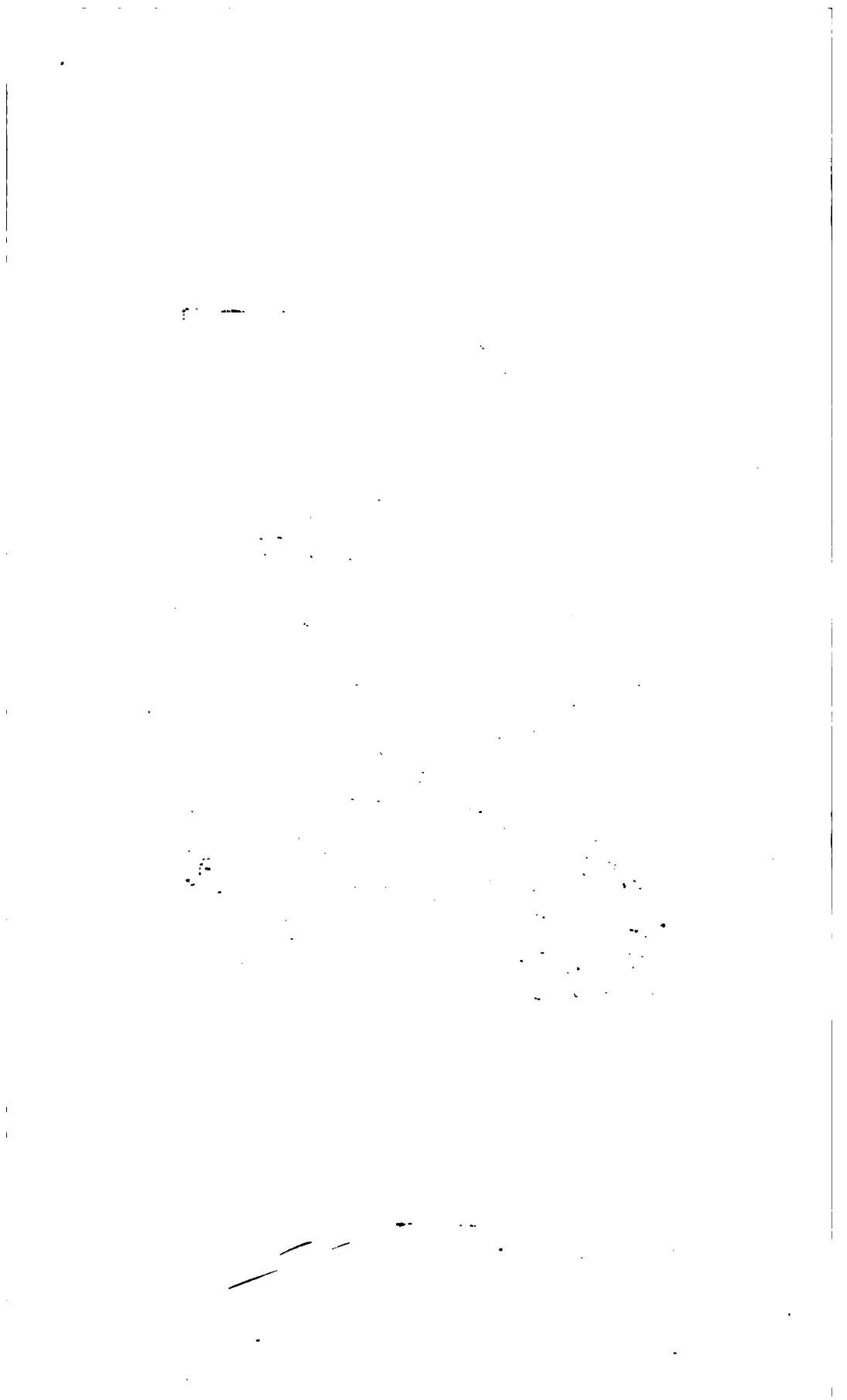
In the interesting and ardent discussion which took place on the question of the adoption of the constitution, Mr. HOPKINSON took a decided, active, and efficient part in favor of that noble instrument,

which has been the admiration of wise and liberal men in all countries; the source and protection of unexampled prosperity in our own: and which has no longer an open and avowed enemy among us, however some may continue their efforts to weaken its powers, and others to extend and confirm them by the force of construction. Upon the absorbing subject of the ratification of the constitution, Mr. HOPKINSON wrote the "History of a New Roof," which the writer before quoted says was a "performance which for wit, humor, and good sense, must last as long as the citizens of America continue to admire, and to be happy under the present national government of the United States."

On the final adoption of the federal constitution, the admiralty jurisdiction became exclusively vested in the courts of the United States, and the state admiralty courts were of course abolished. In 1790, Mr. HOPKINSON was appointed by President Washington the judge of the district court of the United States for the district of Pennsylvania. He did not long enjoy this honor. He had been for many years subject to occasional fits of the gout, but they had not impaired his general health, nor had he suffered an attack for a considerable time previous to his death. On the ninth of May, 1791, he was suddenly struck with an epilepsy, which, in a few hours, put a period to his existence in the fifty-third year of his age.

There was an extraordinary variety and versatility in the genius and acquirements of Mr. HOPKINSON. His poetry, although not of the highest order, was smooth, and in good taste, and full of feeling. If it does not command the admiration of the critic, it touches the heart of the kind. He was a musician of a high grade in his performance on the harpsichord, and composed some songs which were well received. He was well versed in mathematics, mechanics, philosophy, and chemistry. As a satirical writer, in its best sense, he had no superior in our country; and some of his pieces will bear a comparison with those of the most celebrated wits. His "Specimen of a Collegiate Examination," and his "Letter on Whitewashing," have been published in England as the productions of their own distinguished writers.

The works of Mr. HOPKINSON, prepared by himself, were published after his death in three volumes, and are now frequently sought for.



JOSHUA BARNEY.

THE reputation of her citizens should be dear to every member of the Union. The number and merit of their services is, indeed, often the only patrimony of their children, but the effect of their example cannot pass away, whilst Honor continues to point to their deeds, in the pages of the history of their country. No state has produced more or brighter examples of bravery and patriotism than the gallant state of Maryland, where the subject of this notice was born, on the 6th of July, 1759, at Baltimore. He discovered early an inclination for the sea, and after making several voyages, was second mate at the early age of fourteen years, and was, by the accidental death of his captain, placed in command of a vessel when only sixteen. A series of adventures, having the character more of romance than reality, attended this sudden and early responsibility, not the least singular of which was his detention at Alicant, and his compulsory service in the ill-conducted and disastrous expedition fitted out against Algiers by the king of Spain, and entrusted to the unfortunate Count O'Reilly. Released by the defeat of the Spaniards, he returned home, arrived in the Chesapeake Bay on the 1st of October, 1775, and learned from the officers of a British sloop of war, who boarded him, that that Revolution which was to call forth in him a devotion to native land that has never been surpassed, was already begun. His services were quickly offered to his country; he became master's mate of the sloop *Hornet*, of ten guns, and was the first to unfurl, in Maryland, the *American* flag, whose honor he afterwards so often and so well sustained. This, his first service, was as a *volunteer*, and he continued to act as such until his appointment as *lieutenant* in the navy, which took place in June, 1776.

On the 6th of July, 1776, Lieutenant BARNEY sailed from Philadelphia in the sloop Sachem, commanded by Captain Isaiah Robinson, and very soon fell in with and captured a letter of marque brig, well

armed, after a very severe action of two hours. Transferred to the Andrea Doria, of fourteen guns, in consequence of the shattered condition of the Sachem, Captain Robinson and Lieutenant BARNEY sailed again from the port of Philadelphia, into which they had been so fortunate as to bring their prize, for St. Eustatia, took in a cargo of small arms and ammunition for the army, engaged and captured the Racehorse of twelve guns, fitted out expressly with a *picked crew* to intercept and take the Andrea Doria, and commanded by a lieutenant of the royal navy. It became his lot, however, to be taken prisoner by the enemy in January, 1777—a prize, on board of which he was prize-master, being retaken by the Perseus, of twenty guns, then cruising off Cape Henry. He was carried into Charleston, South Carolina, and there released on his parole. Upwards of eight months passed before his exchange for Lieutenant Moriarty of the Solebay was effected; a period of time not unprofitably spent, for it was devoted to study.

In December, 1777, Lieutenant BARNEY was appointed to the Virginia frigate, and remained in her till her capture, on the 1st of April following, by the British squadron in the Chesapeake. Another period of imprisonment—an exchange and return to Baltimore, were the precursors of new adventures, among which two engagements—the capture of a British letter of marque and a voyage to France—were the most important, particularly the last; for that resulted in pecuniary benefit, and probably led him to form the most important connection of his life. He married the daughter of Gunning Bedford, Esq., of Philadelphia, on the 16th of March, 1780.

After remaining some time ashore, Lieutenant BARNEY was ordered to the United States' ship Saratoga, of sixteen guns, Captain Young, and sailed from Philadelphia on a cruise. Various prizes were made, and, among others, an English ship of thirty-two guns and ninety men, carried by Lieutenant BARNEY, who boarded her with fifty men under the smoke of a broadside; and after a severe conflict, hauled down her colors. Ordered to bring his prize in, he steered for the Delaware; but after stopping a formidable leak in her, he was captured by a squadron of the enemy, landed at Plymouth in England, after enduring treatment that was never forgotten, and confined in Mill Prison.

Our limits do not permit us to relate the various adventures which followed a well-laid and successfully conducted plan of escape. After remaining some time at large in England, he reached Margate, took passage in a packet for Ostend, and finally reached the

Beverly, Massachusetts. He arrived in Philadelphia on the 21st of March, 1782.

We approach the best known, if it be not at the same time the most brilliant, exploit of his life. The tories, with numerous craft, had a force sufficient, aided by the presence of several British men of war, to cause the greatest annoyance, during the spring of 1782, to the commerce of Philadelphia. The state of Pennsylvania undertook to destroy these freebooters, and a force was organized under her authority for that purpose. The offer of one of the vessels, a small ship carrying sixteen six pounders and a hundred and ten men, equipped principally through the liberality and enterprise of citizens of Philadelphia, was made to Lieutenant BARNEY, who took command of her a few days after his return home. This vessel was the "Hyder Ally." She sailed on the 8th of April, 1782, with a fleet of merchantmen, under instructions to convoy them to the Capes, and then to return for the protection of the Delaware. Upon reaching Cape May road, the convoy were approached by two ships and a brig of the enemy's forces, and immediately got under weigh in obedience to a signal, and began to run up the bay. The brig first approached, and gave the Hyder Ally a broadside, and passed on after the merchantmen. The broadside was not returned, as one of the enemy's ships was fast approaching—into her, as soon as she came within pistol shot, Captain BARNEY poured a tremendous fire; and, as she was ranging alongside, by a prompt manœuvre, caught her jib-boom in the Hyder Ally's fore rigging, thus obtaining a position which enabled him to rake her with such effect, that in twenty-six minutes her colors were struck. The enemy's other ship (the Quebec frigate) was by this time very near, and the first lieutenant of the Hyder Ally and thirty-five men were quickly put on board the prize, which was despatched with all speed up the bay. Having outsailed the frigate, the prize was hailed by Captain BARNEY, who found her to be his Britannic Majesty's ship the "General Monk," mounting twenty nine pounders, with a crew of one hundred and thirty-six men, commanded by Captain Josiah Rodgers of the royal navy. The General Monk had twenty men, killed, including the first lieutenant, purser, surgeon, boatswain, and gunner; and thirty-three wounded, among whom were Captain Rodgers and all the officers of the ship, with the exception of one midshipman. The loss on board the Hyder Ally was four men killed, and eleven were wounded. Captain BARNEY escaped unhurt, though a musket ball passed through his hat and another tore his coat.

The mortification of the British at this capture was extreme;* the triumph of the Americans was expressed in congratulatory addresses; the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a vote of thanks to Captain BARNEY, and also presented him, in the name of the state, with a sword, superbly mounted with gold, and bearing the proper emblematic representation of his victory. The ballads of the day—for in those days they wrote ballads—celebrated his valor and good conduct; and there were few to whom the fame of "the roaring Hyder Ally" and her gallant commander was unknown.

The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania authorized the purchase of the General Monk, and her name being changed to that of the "General Washington," Captain BARNEY was commissioned as her commander on the 16th of May, 1782. He proceeded in her to Havana upon an important service; and, having accomplished it, returned to Philadelphia, where he arrived in safety, after having the satisfaction of making a successful attack upon a number of refugee barges in the Delaware Bay, sinking and destroying them, and recapturing a number of vessels of which they had taken possession.

Selected, in October, 1782, to carry out to Dr. Franklin the instructions of his own government before the British commissioners should arrive at Paris, Captain BARNEY passed the British force at the mouth of the Delaware, and arrived in seventeen days at L'Orient. He returned to Philadelphia on the 12th of March, 1783, bearing the news of peace—having been furnished with the king of Great Britain's passport for the "ship *General Washington*, belonging to the United States of North America."

Peace brought with it occupations of a character widely different from those in which Captain BARNEY had been accustomed to be engaged. He was appointed to civil office, but the sea seemed his element; and in the summer of 1790 he projected a voyage to South America, and was engaged in various enterprizes of a commercial nature until 1793, when his ship, the Sampson, was taken, on the 14th of July, by three privateers from Jamaica and New Providence. The firmness and decision of character for which he was so remarkable, soon evinced itself in the recapture of his vessel, five days after her capture, with the aid of his carpenter and boatswain, after a short conflict, in which he wounded one of the three English prize officers

* It seems to have lasted for almost half a century. See the account of the action in Warner's Literary Recollections, Vol. I. p. 324, London, 1830. He describes the action as "long and desperate—tremendous was the *carnage* on both sides;" and avers that Captain Rodgers's antagonist was "greatly his superior in tonnage, guns, and men."

severely. He arrived in Baltimore early in August, bringing his English captors with him.

Having made the proper disposition of his late prisoners, Captain BARNEY sailed for Cape François, to arrange his unsettled business in the Island of St. Domingo. Having settled it, he sailed on the last of December, 1793, from Port au Prince, for Baltimore, and the next day was captured by the British frigate Penelope, Captain Rowley, who, after behaving to him in a manner to lessen the fame of his country's service, carried him and his captured vessel, the Sampson, into Jamaica. The Grand Jury of the Admiralty Court found a bill against him for *Piracy*, and another for "shooting with intent to kill," founded upon the recapture of his *own* vessel, and wounding one of the captors, as has been already related. He was, however, triumphantly acquitted by the *jury;* but his ship's cargo was condemned as prize by the *judge* in the proceedings against them. It must not be supposed that during these unexampled proceedings against him he was forgotten by his country or his friends. The statement which Captain BARNEY made of his case called forth the prompt interference of his government. A vigorous remonstrance was addressed by the secretary of state to the British minister on the subject,—General Washington declared his determination to avenge any punishment inflicted upon him by the most prompt retaliation—and he granted a special permission to a pilot boat from Baltimore, manned with volunteers and despatched by his friends, to proceed to his relief; an embargo, laid on all the ports of the United States, having rendered such permission necessary. After intolerable suffering and fatigue, the crew of the pilot boat arrived in her at Jamaica, and the despatches they carried to the governor from the British minister produced a change in the personal treatment of Captain BARNEY, but they did not restore his property.

After his return to Baltimore, Captain BARNEY was appointed to command one of the six vessels authorized by congress, which formed the then navy of the United States. The letter of the secretary of war, announcing his appointment to him, stated the relative rank of the captains to be John Barry, Samuel Nicholson, Silas Talbot, JOSHUA BARNEY, Richard Dale, Thomas Truxton. This appointment he declined on the 7th of June, 1794, the day he received notice of it, on the ground that the appointment placed him in order of rank below Silas Talbot, who had been a lieutenant colonel in the army, but was without any experience as a naval officer.

Being thus at liberty to attend to his private affairs, Captain BARNEY

sailed for France, to settle, if possible, some of the claims on the government of that country arising out of his former St. Domingo voyages. He was a fellow-passenger with Mr. Monroe, then minister to that country, who, on the 14th of September, 1794, selected him as the bearer of the American flag presented to the National Convention. This body decreed that he should be employed in the navy of the Republic; and, just before his return to the United States, he was offered, by the minister of marine, the command of the Alexander, a seventy-four gun ship, not long before taken from the British—a circumstance to him of no trifling import; but his private affairs prevented him from accepting the flattering offer, and until they were arranged he declined an appointment. Subsequently he received the appointments of *Capitaine de Vaisseau*, and *Chef de Division des Armées Navales*, and before the end of May, 1795, he sailed from Rochfort with two fine frigates, *La Harmonie* of forty-four guns, on board of which he hoisted his flag, and *La Railleuse* of thirty-six guns, bound for St. Domingo. He continued in the French service, actively and efficiently engaged, and encountering constant peril and adventure, until 1802, when he resigned; and after having received ample testimony of the merit of his services, returned to the United States in October of that year.

To arrange affairs left during eight years' absence to the care of others, and to establish himself at home for the rest of his days, became the immediate object of Commodore BARNEY'S attention. In the year 1804, the sentence of the court at Jamaica condemning the Sampson and her cargo, was reversed, and their value ordered to be restored; and in the course of the following year he received a handsome remittance from Paris on account of his claims upon the French Government.

The attack upon the Chesapeake frigate excited in Commodore BARNEY, in a high degree, the feelings which pervaded the nation at the outrageous insult offered to it; and on that occasion he wrote to Mr. Jefferson, the president of the United States, to offer his services, asking to be "employed in any manner which might be thought conducive to the good of his country"—an offer which he repeated to Mr. Madison in 1809.

The declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, found Commodore BARNEY on his farm, in Anne Arundel county (Md.); but he remained there a very short time. Less than three weeks after its annunciation, he was on board an armed vessel, the Rossie, of ten guns, in which, during a short cruise, he did the enemy incredible

damage, and captured a letter of marque and a king's packet, the latter after a severe action.

The command of the *Flotilla*, fitted out at Baltimore to protect the Chesapeake Bay, was offered to him in 1813, but he was unable to commence his operations till April 1814. He engaged the British forces sent against him from the squadron on the 1st, 7th, 9th, and 10th of June following, with great gallantry and very decisive effect. These engagements were but the prelude to more serious operations. The British had determined to attack Baltimore and Washington; and with the view to be within reach of either place on the occasion of an attempt upon it, Commodore BARNEY moved his flotilla up the Patuxent as far as Nottingham, a village on that river about forty miles from Washington, where he learned, on the 16th of August, that the enemy had entered and were ascending the river. The orders of the secretary of the navy, to whom he communicated the intelligence by express, were, to run the flotilla as far up the river as possible, and upon the enemy landing, to destroy it, and march to join General Winder's army with the men.

The British landed on the 21st of August at Benedict, and directed the march of their forces upon Washington. Upon receiving intelligence of their approach, Commodore BARNEY landed with upwards of four hundred men, leaving about a hundred men to blow up the flotilla, then a short distance above Pig Point, if attacked, and likely to fall into the hands of the enemy. On the 22d of August he joined General Winder's army at the Woodyard, where he found Captain Miller,* with eighty marines and five pieces of heavy artillery, placed under his command by the secretary of the navy. On the 24th of August he marched to Bladensburg, and pressing on, he found the American forces drawn up, and covering the road for some distance west of the town, and shortly after they became engaged with the British. He formed his own men, and arranged his artillery in battery, and had scarcely so done before the enemy appeared in the road, and advanced upon him. He opened his fire upon them with admirable precision, and such destructive effect, as to drive them from the road at the first discharge; they rallied and returned, but it was to meet the same result. They turned off to a field on their left, with the view to avoid the battery and continue their advance; but Commodore BARNEY, observing the movement, directed the marines under Captains Miller and Sevier, and the flotilla men acting as infantry,

* Afterwards Colonel Miller.

to charge them, whilst he poured a destructive fire upon their flank. The charge was executed with great celerity and determination; the veterans of the 86th and 4th, or "King's Own," giving way before it, and flying, pursued by their assailants—the sailors crying out to "board them,"—until they got into a ravine covered with woods, leaving their wounded officers, among whom was Colonel Thornton, who had led them on, in the possession of the Americans. It would have been well for the honor of America, if all who were present on that day had behaved with the same decision and effect as Commodore BARNEY and his command; but whilst *they* were sustaining the credit of their country, the other troops had disappeared; and in the confusion of their retreat, the wagon containing the ammunition for his cannon and small arms had been carried off. The British light troops acting *en tirailleur*, had, in consequence of the total absence of any support, gained positions on his flanks near enough to produce effect with their fire, and to wound and kill several of his best officers—Captains Miller and Sevier had both been wounded in charging the enemy; and Commodore BARNEY himself, after having had his horse killed under him, received a musket ball in the thigh. The force of the enemy was constantly increasing, for the want of ammunition prevented the only effective resistance they had met with from being continued; and an order was given to retreat, which the officers and men who were able to march effected in excellent order; but the Commodore's wound rendered him unable to move, and he was made prisoner. He was treated by General Ross with great attention and care, paroled upon the ground, and conveyed to Bladensburg, where he remained until the 27th of August, when he was conveyed to his farm at Elkridge.

On the 8th of October, 1814, Commodore BARNEY was exchanged, and on the 10th resumed the command of the flotilla; but the news of peace, received in February, 1815, rendered his services no longer necessary to his country. With the exception of a voyage to Europe as the bearer of despatches, selected by the president, to the American plenipotentiaries, he returned no more to public life; unless the appointment of naval officer at Baltimore, which he received in November, 1817, from President Monroe, can be so termed. His latter years were occupied in the settlement of his claims to a body of valuable lands in Kentucky, to which state he was preparing to remove when he was seized with a bilious fever at Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, where he died, on the 1st of December, 1818, at the age of fifty-nine.

J. M. Poinsett

JOEL R. POINSETT.

THE distinguished subject of this memoir was born on the second of March, 1779. Immediately after the close of the revolutionary war, he was taken to England by his parents, and brought back to Charleston in 1788. He received the rudiments of his classical education in that city under Mr. Thomson, who was an excellent teacher. In 1793, he was sent by his father to be placed under the care and tuition of Dr. Dwight, and he remained at Greenfield Hill, in Connecticut, with this celebrated man for nearly two years, when the state of his health obliged his father to recall him to the milder climate of South Carolina. The year after, he was sent to England, where he remained at school at Wandsworth, near London, under the tuition of Mr. Roberts, brother of the principal of St. Paul's school. In all these different seminaries, he took an eminent station. At the age of eighteen, he left Mr. Roberts, the best classical scholar in the institution. Thence he proceeded to Edinburgh. In compliance with the wishes of his father, he matriculated in the college of that city, and attended the medical lectures. In this institution, under the most celebrated masters of the time in Europe, he laid the foundation of that general knowledge of the sciences, which he has pursued throughout life. He was interrupted in this course of study by indisposition; and by the advice of Dr. Gregory, who had manifested the kindest interest in him during his residence in Edinburgh, he went to Lisbon for the recovery of his health. He embarked in the stormy winter of 1798, and had a long and boisterous passage, being detained by contrary winds in the Bay of Biscay for four weeks. Such, however, was the beneficial effect of the sea air upon his constitution, that although, when he left Edinburgh, his friend and physician, Dr. Gregory, considered his case very doubtful, he entirely recovered his health before he landed in Lisbon. He remained the rest of that winter in Lisbon, and in the spring, went to Oporto, whence he embarked for England. Being convinced that his health would not permit him to follow any sedentary pursuit, he resolved

to direct his attention to the study of military tactics, with a view of engaging in the active life of a soldier. For this purpose, he placed himself under the tuition of Marquois, who had been a teacher in the military academy at Woolwich. Under this teacher, he studied the higher branches of mathematics, fortification, and gunnery; but in the following winter, his constitution again gave way under great application, in the rigorous climate of London, and he was obliged to seek a milder region. In the spring of 1800, he returned to Charleston; and a second time proved the beneficial effect of the sea air upon his constitution:—before he reached home, he was perfectly restored to health.

Finding his father extremely averse to his entering the army in time of peace, he entered the office of Mr. De Saussure, now chancellor of South Carolina, and began the study of law. Being desirous of completing his education by making the tour of Europe, he obtained the consent of his father to another voyage. In 1801, he embarked at Baltimore for Havre. He sojourned at Paris in the winter of 1801–2. In the summer he visited Switzerland; he made the tour of the Cantons on foot; and was present during the struggle which took place to reëstablish the old government of the Helvetic Confederacy, after the French troops were withdrawn, according to the stipulations of the peace of Amiens. When that struggle was terminated by the interference of France, he passed the Alps, and visited the principal cities of Italy. He made the tour of Sicily, visited Malta, and returned again through Italy to France. He remained a short time in Geneva, and passing again through Switzerland, took the road to Vienna by Bavaria. He passed some months at the Austrian court; but receiving while here the melancholy intelligence of the death of his father, he set out in the depth of winter, and travelled day and night to Rotterdam, whence he returned to the United States.

When he arrived in Charleston, he found his sister suffering under an incipient phthisis, and proceeded with her to New York, in the hope that the change of air might prove beneficial to her health. He was disappointed in this hope:—after lingering a few months, she expired in his arms. This melancholy bereavement, by which he lost his last surviving near relation, had a great effect upon the destinies and character of Mr. POINSETT. He soon after returned to Europe, and proceeded to visit the northern portions of that continent. At St. Petersburg he was received in the most distinguished manner by the Emperor Alexander, with whom he enjoyed frequent intercourse

The emperor delighted to inform himself on the republican institutions of our country. On one occasion, when Mr. P. was speaking of the advantages enjoyed by the citizens of the United States, Alexander exclaimed, "Sir, you are right; and if I were not an emperor, I certainly would be a republican." He offered to retain Mr. P. in his service, and afforded him every facility in his tour through the European and Asiatic possessions of his vast empire. Mr. POINSETT, in consequence, visited Moscow and Kasan, and thence descended the Volga to Astrachan, where he was so much interested by the assemblage of people from every part of Asia, that he remained there three weeks, although the plague raged violently at the time in that place. He was compelled to perform, for several days, a quarantine on the opposite shore of the Volga; but the plague breaking out in the quarantine ground, he was permitted by the governor of Astrachan to proceed on his journey. Before he left this region, he visited the camps of the Calmuc Tartars, in the steppes, and passed some days in the tent of one of the priests, where he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the worship of the Dalai Lama; as he had previously with that of Bramah, while in Astrachan, by passing a night in the quarter occupied by the natives of India. From Astrachan he proceeded along the shores of the Caspian Sea to Terki, the capital of the Lesghian Tartars. Here the Lehemkall, or chief, informed him, that the escort with which he had been furnished on leaving the Russian frontier (three hundred Cossacks) was not sufficient to protect him in his passage through that country: the chief advised him, besides, to return, or send away the escort, which was calculated to provoke hostility, and to confide in his hospitality, offering to convey him in safety to Derbent. He accepted this generous offer, and put himself under the protection of the Lehemkall. This enabled him to see and observe the manners and customs of this singular people. He arrived in safety at Derbent, the Portæ Caspiæ, and after a short stay there, proceeded with an escort on the road to Baku, in Persia. On this journey he was attacked, and he extricated his little party with some difficulty, retreating to the Cuban, in the Caucasian mountains, where he was kindly received by the khan, under whose protection he reached Baku in safety. In this neighborhood he visited the temple of fire, and saw the Guebres, from the banks of the Ganges, who come as pilgrims to this spot. From Baku he went to Schirvan, and after passing through Gangea, arrived at Teflis, in Georgia. Thence he went into Armenia, and was present at the unsuccessful siege of

Erivan by the Russian army. He returned to Teflis when the Russians withdrew from this place. Passing through the centre of the isthmus, between the Caspian and Black Sea, he returned to St. Petersburg, along the line of the Cuban to the Crimea, and thence through the Ukraine to Moscow and St. Petersburg. This route was through a sickly tract. Of the party of nine that accompanied Mr. P. from Moscow, only three survived; and he himself was so much affected by the climate, that he was compelled to go to Toeplitz for his health. In the course of his journey thither, he passed through Königsburg, where the Prussian court resided, and Berlin, which was at that time occupied by the French troops. He stopped a few days at Dresden, and visited the beautiful country called Saxon Switzerland. At Toeplitz, he met the celebrated *Prince de Ligne*, whom he had formerly known at Vienna. Having made a short stay here, he went to Carlsbad, and proceeded slowly on to Paris, where he resided some months. After the insult offered to our flag by the attack on the Chesapeake frigate, he considered a war between the United States and Great Britain to be inevitable, and thought it to be his duty to return home to offer his services to his country. He did so, and Mr. Madison expressed a desire to make him quartermaster general of the army;—a branch of the service very defective at that time in the United States, and to which Mr. P. had paid particular attention;—to this, Mr. Eustis, who was at that time secretary of war, objected. Mr. P. thought he perceived on the part of the secretary an indisposition to receive him into the service, and he therefore agreed without hesitation to a proposal made to him from Mr. Madison, through Mr. Gallatin, to repair to South America, and ascertain the real condition of the South American people, and their prospects of success in the revolution just commenced. Accordingly he proceeded to Rio Janeiro, and thence to Buenos Ayres, where he was received by the governing junta with great distinction. After establishing friendly and commercial relations with Buenos Ayres, he crossed the continent to Chile. This became the theatre of the most extraordinary actions of his life, of which it would require more space than is allotted to these memoirs to give even a brief notice. He found the government in the hands of the Carreras, who gave him a most flattering welcome, and who, shortly after his arrival, declared Chile independent of Spain.

When the war with Great Britain broke out, he was anxious to return home; but no opportunity of doing so presented itself; and, subsequently, the British cruisers declared their intention to capture

him if they could. Captain Hillyer, of the Phœbe, refused him permission to return in the cartel, which was asked by Captain Porter, declaring, that he would not permit the arch-enemy of Great Britain as he was pleased to term him, peaceably to return to the seat of the war.

While he was detained in Chile, the subject of declaring war against the United States was discussed in secret session of the Cortes in Spain, and the Spanish authorities in Peru proceeded to act as if war had taken place between the two countries. They captured and condemned several American vessels, and upon their invading Chile, they seized ten American whale ships in the port of Talcahuano. At the same time, Mr. POINSETT obtained the perusal of an intercepted letter from the governor of San Carlos de Chiloe, informing the viceroy of Lima, that an American vessel had put into that port for supplies; that he had seized it, and should send it on to Callao, as soon as a set of irons was completed, which was to secure the crew. Mr. POINSETT, indignant at the commission of these acts of hostility on the part of the Spanish authorities, accepted the command of a small force, which was offered to him by the government of Chile; with this he retook Talcahuano, and liberated the vessels detained there. The exploit was noticed in the Nantucket papers, and the National Intelligencer.

When the Essex, Captain Porter, arrived in Valparaiso, Mr. P. was frequently on board; and on one occasion, when she left the port in the expectation of encountering a British frigate, he sailed in her. The vessel they went out to meet proved to be a Portuguese frigate. The Essex returned into port, and Mr. P. had only an opportunity of seeing all the preparations for a naval combat. He was on board the Essex when the Phœbe and Cherub came into Valparaiso Bay, and had subsequently the melancholy satisfaction to witness the gallant defence made by Captain Porter, and his brave officers and crew, against a very superior force, under the most disadvantageous and discouraging circumstances.

After the capture of the Essex, Mr. POINSETT returned across the continent to Buenos Ayres, whence he sailed for Bahia, in a Portuguese brig, having escaped the British squadron by dropping down the river of Plate in an open boat. From Bahia he embarked in a fast sailing schooner for Madeira, where he heard of the peace with Great Britain; and after a short residence in this island, he returned to Charleston. Soon he was elected a member of the legislature of South Carolina; and having originated there a system of internal

improvement, in the execution of which he wished to coöperate, he refused to accept the appointment of commissioner to South America, tendered him by Mr. Monroe. While President of the South Carolina Board of Public Works, he superintended, along with Colonel Blanding, the construction of a road over the Saluda mountain, a spur of the blue ridge. This is generally admitted to be one of the best, if not the best mountain road in the United States, and is an enduring monument of Mr. POINSETT's public spirit and usefulness.

In 1821, he was elected member of congress for Charleston district, and had an important share in the debate on the recognition of the independence of Spanish America. In 1822, he was invited by the president to go to Mexico, in order to examine into the state of that country, and to report upon the expediency of instituting diplomatic relations with the Emperor Iturbide. He executed this delicate commission, and advised, for obvious reasons, that no relations should be formed with the Mexican imperial government, foretelling, with great accuracy, the period of its dissolution, and the overthrow of Iturbide. He was twice reëlected to congress, and took a very serviceable part in all the most important measures discussed in the house of representatives during that period.

When it was known in the United States that Iturbide had returned to Mexico, Mr. Monroe offered to Mr. POINSETT the mission to Mexico, urging his acceptance of it. From the peculiar relations in which Mr. POINSETT stood at that time with his party in Charleston, he was compelled to decline this appointment. Mr. Monroe afterwards renewed this offer; but Mr. POINSETT had defended Mr. Monroe's character when attacked in the house of representatives, and therefore refused to receive any appointment at his hands.

Although he had participated in the election contest in which Mr. John Quincy Adams succeeded, and had voted in favor of General Jackson, Mr. Adams proffered him the appointment of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico, which he at length accepted. Shortly before he set out for his destination, the degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon him by Columbia college in New York; together with Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Elliott, of South Carolina.

His conduct while in Mexico in the discharge of his official duties there, has been a subject of much discussion and criticism; and it is to be regretted, that the brief nature of this memoir will not permit us to place it before the public in its true light. He never did interfere with the internal concerns of that country, except to prevent civil war; and that in one instance only, and with the knowledge

and consent of the government. His friends were chosen among the popular, or democratic party—the party now in power; the aristocracy and hierarchy attributed entirely to him the loss of their influence over the people,—which was the effect of the adoption of republican institutions, and a representative form of government. They hated him accordingly; believing that if they could get rid of him, they would recover the standing they had lost. The events subsequent to Mr. POINSETT's departure must have convinced them of their error, as they show conclusively, that the tranquillity of the country, and the contests between the patriots, were not affected by his presence. He was accused of being inimical to the views of the European Spaniards, whereas he constantly exerted himself to protect them from persecution, although he condemned their frequent interference in the politics of the republic. They never could be reconciled to the dominion of the Creoles.

We cannot refrain from introducing a remarkable incident which Mr. POINSETT narrated in his speech to the people of Charleston, to exemplify the power which our *Union* has to protect its citizens abroad.

The election of Gomez Pedraza to the presidentship of Mexico, was not acquiesced in by the people; and from discontent and murmurs they soon proceeded to open revolt. At night, they took possession of the artillery barracks, a large building, commonly called the *Accordada*, which is so situated at the termination of the main street, that a battery erected opposite to it commanded the palace. Near the Accordada is the *Alameda*, a public walk about three-quarters of a mile in circumference, and ornamented with noble trees. The action commenced here, after a vain attempt on the part of the government to negotiate with the people. The government forces were driven out of the Alameda, and batteries established higher up the street. The second day, the troops of the Accordada, commanded by Zavala and Lobato, advanced towards the centre of the city, in two columns—one by the main street, and the other by a street running parallel to it, on which Mr. POINSETT's house was situated. In order to check the advance of these columns, the government troops were posted in the towers and steeples of the convents and churches, and traverses mounted with cannon were constructed across the streets. One of these works was situated about three hundred yards from Mr. POINSETT's house, and immediately under the tower of a convent on which men were stationed. After several ineffectual attempts had been made to carry this work by an attack of infantry in front, suddenly a squadron of cavalry, that had

succeeded in turning the flank of the battery, which was unprotected, came thundering upon the artillery and sabred the men at their guns. The soldiers on the tower, who for a time were afraid to use their arms, lest they should kill their comrades, at length poured down an effective fire upon the cavalry. Several fell; some dashed down the street, and others threw themselves off their horses and took refuge under the eaves of the very tower whence this destructive fire had proceeded. The horses, whose riders had been killed, ran about wild with terror; but those of the dismounted cavaliers instinctively leant up against the wall of the tower as closely as their riders did, and both escaped the shots from above. When the cannon of this battery was silenced, the troops were soon driven from the convent. The convent of Saint Augustine, situated in the rear of Mr. POINSETT's house, was the last to yield to the besiegers. While the firing was going on at this post, Madame Yturrigaray, widow of the former viceroy of Mexico, who lived in the adjoining house, rushed into her balcony, almost frantic with fear, and implored Mr. POINSETT to protect her house. While he was giving her assurances of protection, and trying to calm her fears, a shot was fired at him from the roof of the convent opposite his house. The ball passed through his cloak and buried itself in the shutter of the balcony window. He retired within the house, and shortly after the besiegers were heard advancing. They were composed of the common people of the city, and the peasants of the neighboring villages, mingled with the civic guard of Mexico, and deserters from different regiments. The tramp of armed men and the hum of voices alone indicated their approach; but when they reached the house, there arose one wild shout, and a desperate rush was made to burst open the door. The massive gates resisted the utmost efforts of the crowd. A cry arose to fire into the windows, to bring up cannon, to drive in the door; and bitter imprecations were uttered against the owner of the house for sheltering their enemies, the European Spaniards, many of whom had sought an asylum in Mr. POINSETT's house. At this moment, Mr. POINSETT directed Mr. Mason, the secretary of the American legation, to throw out the flag of the United States. This was gallantly done, and they both stood on the balcony beneath its waving folds. The shouts were hushed; the soldiers slowly dropped the muzzles of their guns, which were levelled at the balcony and windows.

Mr. POINSETT seized this opportunity to tell them who he was, and what flag waved over him, and to claim security for all who were under its protection. Perceiving that the crowd was awed and

began to consult together, he retired from the balcony to despatch his servant with a note to the commander of the besieging army. The servant returned, and reported that the press was so great that the porter was afraid to open the door lest the crowd should rush in. Mr. POINSETT instantly resolved to go down himself and have the door opened. As he descended the stairs he was joined by Mr. Mason. They proceeded together across the court yard to the door which the porter was ordered to open. As they stepped over the threshold, the dense crowd which filled the street, rolled back like a wave of the ocean. The servant, who was a Mexican, mingled with them, and before the people recovered from their astonishment the two gentlemen returned into the court yard and the door was closed by the porter. Before they reached the front of the house, they heard the rapid advance of a body of cavalry. It was commanded by a friend of the legation. The gates were thrown open, the horsemen rode into the court yard, their commander stationed sentinels before the door, and Mr. POINSETT had the satisfaction to redeem his promise of protection to Madam Yturrigaray. Her house was respected amidst the wildest disorder, and those who had sought an asylum under the flag of the United States, remained in perfect safety until tranquillity was restored. The house was a quadrangle, and the court yard shut in by a *porte cochère*. The people before the door were, many of them, loaded with plunder from the houses and shops into which they had broken.

Mr. POINSETT was accused of originating masonry in Mexico:— its rites existed there long before his visits. All that he did, was to send for charters from the grand lodge of New York, at the request of the officers of the five lodges which existed in the capital; a request urged by several of the highest functionaries of the government. He explained all these circumstances to the public, in his able reply to the accusations made against him by the legislatures of Vera Cruz and Mexico; and, subsequently, in answer to a British pamphlet, published in London. These answers were generally considered as a triumphant refutation of all the charges preferred against him.

So prominent a politician and zealous a patriot as Mr. POINSETT, could not fail to exert and distinguish himself in the important public questions which were raised in South Carolina since his return. He sided with the Union party, as opposed to the advocates of nullification. It is not within our province or design to pronounce judgment upon the merits of parties, or the comparative soundness

of their opinions and measures; but we may say of Mr. POINSETT, what we presume his political adversaries will admit—that he was an honorable, as well as an able and intrepid leader—that he was firmly attached to the constitution of the United States, and would have sacrificed his life in its defence. His efforts to organize the Union party; the speeches which he delivered; the addresses and essays which he wrote, in furtherance of its objects; and the determination which he manifested for himself, and fostered in others, will render his name most creditably conspicuous in the annals of a memorable contest.

In October, 1833, Mr. POINSETT married Mary, daughter of Ralph Izard, Esq., and widow of J. I. Pringle, Esq., and remained in private life until his election to the senate of South Carolina, in 1836. The formation of president Van Buren's cabinet in March, 1837, included Mr. POINSETT as secretary of war, and he continued in that office till the election of General Harrison. His course as a public officer, charged with the affairs of the army of the United States, was efficient and energetic.

The pure and patriotic life of Mr. POINSETT, was prolonged till the 14th of December, 1851, when he died in the seventy-third year of his age, at Statesburg, S. C. His latter years were devoted to literary leisure, and to efforts in support of the great interests of his country.

The proficiency of Mr. POINSETT in scientific and literary studies was considerable. When abroad, he constantly gave attention to objects of natural history, and made collections with which he enriched our principal cities, especially Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston. His published volume of *Notes on Mexico;* his excellent articles in Quarterly Reviews; his printed essays and memoirs as a geographer and traveler; his various replies to calumnies and misapprehensions of his conduct; acquired for him a well merited literary reputation. As a legislator, he was truly substantive and exemplary, from the extent and variety of his practical information and talents; his superior aptitude and habits as a man of business; and his instructive, compendious sense, and gentlemanly discipline in debate. He was a clear, concise, and energetic public speaker. Few men of his age have seen more of the world, and with so much intellectual profit: few have displayed equal enterprise, courage, equanimity, and perseverance. The regulation of his temper, and the simplicity of his courteous manners, corresponded to the strength and culture of his reason. His country, which he passionately loved, may yet gain much from the activity of his zeal, and the uncommon diversity of his powers, attainments, and experience.

LOUIS McLANE.

Honor and fame are the legitimate reward of virtue and talent. Like wealth, they may be sometimes unworthily and sometimes unwisely bestowed; but when yielded to merit or won by industry, they hang like a graceful robe on their wearer, imparting dignity and commanding respect. Beneficently placed within the reach of all, they appear like trophies to be won and worn by those who successfully contend against indolence and vice; and it is of rare occurrence in the history of any country, that superior mental attainments, in alliance with moral worth, judiciously directed and actively employed, have failed in their attainment. A new attestation of this universal truth will be found in this memoir.

Louis McLane is a son of the late Allan McLane, a gallant and distinguished officer in the revolutionary war. He was born May 28th, 1786, at the village of Smyrna, Kent county, Delaware. Inheriting his father's enterprise and patriotic spirit, his attachment to the military profession exhibited itself at a very early period. In 1798, at the age of twelve years, he obtained a midshipman's warrant, and was ordered to the frigate Philadelphia, about to sail on her first cruise, under the command of Stephen Decatur, the father of the renowned and lamented commodore of that name. During this cruise, which continued nearly twelve months, he is said to have displayed courage and enterprise beyond his years: but the anticipation of a brilliant career in the service was disappointed by his resignation, on his return to the United States, in 1801, in consequence of the earnest entreaties of his mother that he would select another profession. From the moment when his mind received this new direction, he applied himself indefatigably to the acquisition of knowledge; and having completed his education at the college of Newark, in the state of Delaware, he commenced the study of the law in 1804, in the office of the late James A. Bayard. The regard and confidence of that eminent jurist and statesman were gradually won and cemented by the talents and assiduity of

his pupil, and a friendship was formed which terminated only with the life of the instructer. Mr. McLane was admitted to the bar of Newcastle in November, 1807. Here his knowledge and capacity as a counsellor, and his eloquence and fidelity as an advocate, at once rendered him conspicuous; and the consequent influx of extensive engagements in the most important causes, soon elevated him to the first eminence in his profession;—a profession at that time embracing such men as Bayard, Rodney, Read, Vandyke, and others of a high order of intellect.

The capacity of Mr. McLane as a public speaker, the quickness and perspicuity of his mind, his accurate and comprehensive perceptions, and his great power of argument, combined with that honorable and elevated cast of character for which he has been uniformly distinguished, enabled him not only to reach, but permanently to maintain, the highest rank at the bar of his native state, and to secure to himself, in an eminent degree, the respect and confidence of his colleagues and fellow citizens throughout the state. His personal happiness received a great addition about this period, by his intermarriage, in the year 1812, with the eldest daughter of the late Robert Milligan.

Mr. McLane was brought up in the political school of Washington, and commenced his career as a member of the party of which that great man was the head, and from which the temptations of ambition have never induced him to separate. Though he may have embraced the principles of that school under the influence of early associations—his gallant father and his enlightened instructer being among its members—he adhered to them under the conscientious conviction that they were identified with the best interests of the people. He was a patriot, and not a partisan—looking to the aggregate of measures, or to motives and results of the whole, rather than of a part.

The last war found him in full professional practice; and although his political friends had opposed the war as premature, yet, no sooner had it been declared, than he cordially joined in its support, and at a great sacrifice of his private interests, embarked in the contest personally, and without emolument. Fortifications being considered necessary for the defence of his town, he contributed his own manual labor to their erection; and yielding offices to those who preferred their tranquil and lucrative enjoyment to the sure peril and doubtful glory of conflict, he literally shouldered his musket, and went into the ranks as a private. As a member of a volunteer company, com-

manded by the late Cæsar A. Rodney, (attorney general of the United States under Mr. Jefferson's administration,) he marched with his comrades when they tendered their services for the defence of Baltimore, until they were checked in their progress at Elkton, by the information that their aid was not desired. The example and exertions of Mr. McLane on this occasion had an important influence in reconciling party opposition, and producing, among all classes of his fellow citizens, union and energy in the prosecution of the war, and in support of the government. In July, 1813, he was selected to deliver an oration to his company, in the presence of a numerous and judicious auditory, and the chivalrous and patriotic spirit which breathed throughout the whole of this production, established his reputation as a sound orator and a good citizen.

Mr. McLane was elected, in 1816, to represent the people of the state of Delaware in the congress of the United States. This high tribute to his merits, so gratifying to its object, and so honorable to the discrimination of those who conferred it, placed him at once in a station in which his labors were to assume a more national character, his intellectual powers to range through a wider expanse, and his purposes and his fame to be developed for other times. He was now called to contend in that more spacious and splendid field, in the conflicts of which the interests of millions are involved, and where the decisions of an individual may become the edicts of a country, and fix the destiny of a generation.

On the 1st of December, 1817, being the commencement of the first session of the fifteenth congress, Mr. McLane took his seat in the house of representatives, of which body he continued to be a member until the termination of the nineteenth congress, in the spring of 1827. His course as a legislator was manly, liberal, and patriotic. As an expositor of the constitution, his constructions were the result of a close examination of the views of its framers, and of those who were contemporary with the period of its adoption, and a comparison of those views with the impressions of his own mind and the deductions of his own judgment. In the practical application of its doctrines, he sought for the rule of his decision in that nice adjustment of legislative action to the wants of the people which would produce the greatest possible result of general prosperity. Against all propositions involving unnecessary or exorbitant expenditures, his vote stands on record in the journals of the house. When he entered congress, the heavy debt which had been contracted during the war absorbed a great portion of the public revenue, and he was one of

those who sedulously labored for the diminution of this burden upon the resources of his country. But the policy of preparation in peace for the contingency of war, which he considered scarcely of less importance than the discharge of the public debt with as much rapidity as the depression of the national energies would permit, led him at the same time to promote all those objects which looked to the more effectual security of the country against future aggression. The last few years had been fruitful in bitter experience. He had seen the public coffers exhausted and the various sources of revenue drained, in consequence of the absence of those facilities of transportation, which, by a wise and timely system of precaution, might be provided, against any recurrence of events inauspicious to the public tranquillity; and he became the advocate of such measures as would put the country in that attitude which would hereafter render defence less costly and more effectual. To this cause may be ascribed his support of those measures of internal improvement which contemplated a channel of intercourse between the north and the south, through the interior of the country, by which men and the munitions of war could be conveyed to any important point of operations, without the danger of hostile interruption. Looking to the same objects he also sustained, on the floor of congress as well as in the committee room, that more expensive and yet more necessary branch of the great scheme of national defence, which embraced the erection of fortresses at those points where the principal rivers discharge themselves into the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. The records of the parliamentary eloquence of that period amply develop Mr. McLane's views on these interesting subjects, and testify the soundness of his constitutional constructions, the sincerity of his patriotism, the breadth of his political forecast, the boldness of his conceptions, and the loftiness of his elocution. While it is due to Mr. McLane to exhibit him in his legislative career as the steady advocate of the policy of internal improvement, so far as it was connected with the scheme of public defence, it is equally just to his discrimination that he should not be confounded with the supporters of every project, local in its advantages and limited in its extent. Between the high purposes of public defence and national security, and the interested projects of individuals for sectional objects, he boldly planted his foot; and resisted every application to congress to dispense the public funds for the advancement of personal, corporate, and local views, while any portion of the public debt remained unsatisfied.

LOUIS McLANE.

The pendency of the celebrated Missouri question, and the legislation in reference to the admission of that state into the union, invested the proceedings of the sixteenth congress with an extraordinary interest. The discussion of the restriction of the new state on the subject of slavery shook the walls of the capitol, and agitated the whole circle of the union. In a crisis of such difficulty and peril, Mr. McLANE selected a course which attested the vigorous and manly structure of his mind. On the one hand he was strongly assailed by the prejudices of his constituents, prejudices deeply rooted and sincere, and consequently deserving and demanding the utmost respect and consideration. The convictions of his own mind, on the other hand, impelled him to yield obedience to the provisions of the constitution as paramount to all other authorities, and to adopt the guidance of his own conscience in their application. His difficulties were at this moment increased, by instructions from the legislature of his state to vote in favor of restricting the new state from permitting the existence of slavery within its limits. To vote against restriction, therefore, was to place himself in opposition to the opinions of those who had elected him; a position not to be taken without a solemn conviction that it was required by a higher obligation than that of obedience to the constituent authority. The oath which he had taken to support the constitution, according to his reading of the fundamental charter, prescribed a course contrary to that which was marked out by the legislature. Thus, submission to his instructions involved a violation of his oath, while the mandate of his oath prohibited a compliance with his instructions. As the most imperative of the conflicting obligations, he yielded to his oath; and on the issue which he thus made up with his constituents, staked his immediate popularity and his future fortunes. That in this decision he exhibited as much sagacity as firmness was proved by the fact, that he was elected to the succeeding congress, and that his reputation as a statesman acquired a new impulse, and established itself more firmly in the public confidence, and in that of his own state.

On a subsequent occasion of great public excitement, he again found himself thrown into opposition to the views both of a considerable portion of his own state, and of a numerous and powerful party throughout the union. The people having failed to elect a president at the electoral election in 1824, it became the duty of the house, under the constitution, to make a selection from the three candidates having the highest number of votes. A committee was

appointed to prepare rules to be observed during the proceeding, and the report of this committee being under consideration, an important discussion arose, going wholly beyond the question as to the rules of proceeding, and embracing high constitutional points, hitherto untouched. It was maintained by Mr. McLane, that, in giving his vote for president under the constitutional provision which devolved the election upon the house of representatives, it was the right and the duty of a member to vote according to his own judgment, without being bound either by any instructions from his immediate constituents, or by any popular preference inferrible from one of the candidate's having received a plurality of the electoral votes. Mr. McLane enforced his views with great ability; his speech on that occasion is considered as one of his most successful efforts; and if a like crisis should again occur, will be referred to as a text book for those who assert their right to a free choice.

Standing in connection with the enlightened minority who sustained the claims of Mr. Crawford to the presidency, he acted in conformity with the principles he had so ably expounded, and gave his vote, as all admitted, conscientiously; though to the candidate having the smallest number of votes. Even among the opponents of Mr. Crawford were to be found adversaries capable of appreciating and admiring the courage and devotion which prompted so honorable and chivalrous an adherence to his principles, under circumstances the most discouraging, and in disregard of the censure he was sure to encounter. His course, however, was marked by that intrepidity and decision, without which, even great talents fail, in trying emergencies, to secure general confidence and command permanent admiration.

The necessity of a policy which would cherish and sustain a system of domestic industry, by which the great variety of the productions of our soil might be fabricated without a resort to foreign looms, was early recognised by the state of Delaware. On this point Mr. McLane participated in the feelings of his constituents. He had seen, during the last war, the extent of the evils which had resulted from an entire dependance on foreign supplies for articles indispensable to the comfort of civilized society; and, admonished by the past, he was anxious to provide nearer and more certain sources of supply for the future. In reference, also, to the creation of a revenue, he was impressed with the importance of imposing such duties on articles of foreign manufacture which could be wrought out of our own *materiel*, by our own industry and genius,

as would afford to the citizens of the United States who should turn their thoughts and their toil into that direction, a fair competition in our own markets with foreign capital and industry. Influenced by these views Mr. McLANE became an advocate of the tariff policy, both as a source of revenue and as a measure of protection to the domestic manufacturer, which would enable him to supply the wants of the country. His speeches on this question contain a mass of powerful argument in favor of the constitutional power of congress to impose duties for protection, combined with a variety of enlightened views as to the expediency of exercising that power in relation to the objects which were in the contemplation of its advocates.

The limits allowed to this sketch do not permit a detailed review of Mr. McLANE's congressional career. He has borne a prominent part in all the most important measures of congress, either in the house or in the senate, from 1817 to 1829. In the house he was first appointed a member of the committee on commerce. He was subsequently appointed chairman of the naval committee; and, while holding that post, he reported a bill for the re-organization of the navy, containing a plan well calculated to add to the efficiency of that essential means of national defence, and to excite the patriotic ambition of its gallant officers. He was also a member, with Mr. Lowndes and others, of the special committee appointed in 1819 to investigate the affairs of the bank of the United States. In 1822 he was appointed chairman of the committee of ways and means, in which station he continued until he was elected to the senate.

At the head of that committee, the most important in the house, the duty of sustaining the executive government by the needful appropriations was principally devolved upon Mr. McLANE, whose skill in financial arrangement, comprehensive knowledge of the wants of the government, vigilance in detecting and defeating unreasonable and extravagant demands, and constant regard to an economical disbursement of the public money, speedily won the confidence of the committee and of the house. The fidelity and talent with which he carried through the measures intrusted to his charge, established his merits as a financial minister, and his tact and industry as a legislator.

On an examination of Mr. McLANE's congressional career it may be safely asserted, that no member ever acquired, in a higher degree, the confidence of the house. A body comprising so much virtue and talent could not fail to render that justice to his purity of purpose,

elevation of sentiment, enlargement of views, and profoundness of reflection, displayed and recommended as they were, by great ability as a parliamentary speaker.

In December, 1827, at the commencement of the twentieth congress, Mr. McLane took his seat in the senate of the United States, having been elected, by the legislature of Delaware, a senator for the term of six years from the 4th of March preceding. In this body he had occasion to sustain and enforce the opinions he had expressed in the other branch, on the subject of the protecting duties, and the limitation of the public contributions, for the purposes of internal improvements, to such objects as should be deemed of national importance.

The legislative services of Mr. McLane closed with the termination of the second session. His talents and services had been too conspicuous to escape the notice of General Jackson; and one of the earliest testimonies of executive favor was given to Mr. McLane. In May, 1829, without solicitation on his part, he was selected by General Jackson to fill the important station of minister of the United States in Great Britain; and, after devoting a short time to the arrangement of his personal concerns, he embarked for London, where he early applied himself to the grave and arduous duties which his government had committed to his charge.

To a mind liberally endowed with natural gifts, and highly improved by long and skilful cultivation, Mr. McLane unites that blandness, courtesy, and grace of demeanor, so admirably adapted to harmonize with the manners of European courts. By this happy combination of diplomatic qualities, he was enabled to make those impressions in the outset, the favorable influence of which was demonstrated, in the ready ear which was always given by the British cabinet to his propositions, and the constant disposition to concede to an urbane and amiable deportment, points which might have been sturdily maintained against less favorable qualities. The adroitness and manliness with which he conducted the negotiation concerning the delicate and embarrassing question of the exclusive commercial rights of Great Britain in her own colonies, has placed Mr. McLane on an elevated point in the scale of diplomatic character.

After residing in London about two years, Mr. McLane returned, and was called to take charge of the treasury department in 1831, in the second cabinet of General Jackson. His expositions of the state of the finances while in this situation, are distinguished by succinctness, and his suggestions exhibit much depth of reflection

and accuracy of judgment. Treating with deference and respect the sentiments of those with whom he has been connected in the administration of the government, whenever they came in conflict with his own, he has so well succeeded in fortifying and defending his opinions, as to demonstrate that they also have possessed the strongest claims to consideration, and that he has taken no single position, on questions of a high national character, without a calm and deliberate conference with his own judgment, assisted by all the lights which he could obtain from examination, reflection, and experience.

It was during Mr. McLane's financial administration that the discontents which a portion of our southern brethren entertained in respect to the policy of fostering domestic manufactures, assumed a character so serious as to produce general apprehension for the public tranquillity. All the precautionary measures which the occasion required of him were promptly taken, and so judicious were they, that they did not tend in any degree to exasperate the local excitement. He afterwards contributed, by his firm but conciliatory counsels, to the spirit of mutual concession, which resulted in those measures which have happily restored harmony to the country.

That Mr. McLane has been eminently successful in retaining the confidence and esteem of the chief magistrate by whom he was called to office, and of the members of the cabinet with whom he has been associated, may be inferred from the fact, that during the year 1833 he was called to the superintendence of the department of state.

In the honorable and responsible station which he now fills, Mr. McLane merits all that consideration from his country which he has bought, at the costly price of nearly twenty years of devotion to the public interests.

At an early period of his life he brought his household gods and laid them on the altar of his country; an offering which was yielded to the dictates of a patriotic spirit, in opposition to the less noble suggestions of that cold prudence which holds up a selfish enjoyment as the highest of human duties and aims. His wealth consists in a mind constant, elevated, and active in the promotion of human prosperity, and a reputation free from stain, which will descend to his children, an inheritance which neither gold can purchase, nor envy diminish, nor the pernicious blight of time destroy.

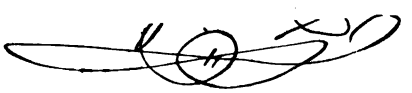
Though scarcely arrived at the prime of life, Mr. McLane has already reached an official eminence inferior only to those of presi-

The complexity of the question, already sufficiently delicate and embarrassing, had thus become critically increased. Without a new proposition from one side or the other, the negotiation would be at an end; and it was obvious that an amicable adjustment of the difficulties could not be effected. There was, therefore, nothing left to our minister but the delicate task of leading the British government to resume the negotiation by a new overture, of a character likely to be acceptable to the president and senators. The success with which the labors of Mr. McLane in this delicate conjuncture were crowned, may be inferred from the fact that a proposition was ultimately submitted by the British secretary of state, and accepted, without modification, by the American government, by which this difficult point in our foreign relations was amicably and finally settled. When announcing the result to the British parliament, Lord Aberdeen, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, took occasion in the house of lords, voluntarily to commend the talents and patriotism of Mr. McLane, and the share he had contributed to effect an adjustment so honorable to both governments.

On his return home, yielding to earnest solicitations of many of his friends whose fortunes were largely embarked in the success of the Maryland enterprise, he consented to resume his position in that company, until its route to the Ohio river should be definitely fixed. That object, after much arduous exertion, was accomplished in the summer of 1848; and the general scheme of policy recommended by him for the prosecution of the work being approved by the directors and stockholders, Mr. McLane, in the month of October, 1848, resigned the office of president of the company, and retired to his estate on the Bohemia river, in Cecil county, on the eastern shore of Maryland.

In the year following, Mr. McLane was prevailed upon by his fellow citizens of Cecil county, to represent them in the convention called to remodel the constitution of the state. In that body he took a prominent share in the proceedings and measures which resulted in the formation of the constitution subsequently adopted by a large majority of the people, and which now forms the organization of the state of Maryland.

Since the close of the convention, Mr. McLane has continued to reside on his estate in Cecil county, and in its improvement and the promotion of agriculture generally, has given additional evidence of the ability and energy so conspicuous in the various occupations to which this sketch has alluded.



MORGAN LEWIS.

Major-General Morgan Lewis, of the army of the United States, son of Francis Lewis, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, was born in the city of New York, on the 16th of October, 1754. His classical education was principally acquired at the Elizabeth-town academy and Princeton college. He graduated and delivered one of the honorary orations at the commencement in 1773; and received the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. In the same year he entered, as a student at law, the office of the late Chief Justice Jay. In 1774, in expectation of the rupture which afterwards took place between Great Britain and her colonies, Mr. Lewis joined a company of young men, who united for military instruction, under an American, named Ritzman, who had served five years as a subaltern in the Prussian service, and who so perfected the individuals under his command in the military tactics and discipline of the great Frederick, that the company afterwards afforded to the army of the revolution more than fifty of its best officers.

In June, 1775, Mr. Lewis joined the army, then investing the town of Boston, as a volunteer in a rifle company commanded by Captain Ross, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Towards the latter end of August, he returned to New York, and assumed the command, to which he had been elected, of the company of volunteers before mentioned. On the 25th of the same month, he was by order from the provincial congress posted with his company to cover a party of citizens, who, after nightfall, were engaged in removing the arms, ordnance, and military equipments from the arsenal on the Battery. The Asia, a British ship of war, lay nearly abreast of the arsenal, and Captain Lewis was specially instructed to prevent all intercourse between that ship and the shore, while the working party were engaged. Scarcely had the work of removal commenced, when a boat was discovered gliding slowly, with muffled oars, within musket shot of one of the sentinels, who, after hailing several times without receiving an answer, fired a shot over her, and ordered her to come to the shore or pull out into the stream. No attention was paid to

this, but a small blue light was exhibited under the bow of the boat, near the surface of the water. In an instant the Asia was lighted from her topsail-yards to her main deck, and her battery opened in the direction of the arsenal. A section of the guard was now brought up, who discharged their pieces into the boat, by which, according to report, two seamen were wounded, one of them mortally.

In November of this year, the provincial congress organized the militia of the city of New York. The late John Jay was appointed to the command of the second regiment, with Captain LEWIS for his first, and John Broom, Esq., for his second major; the command of course devolved on Major LEWIS, as Mr. Jay never joined the regiment.

In June, 1776, when General Gates was appointed to the command of the army in Canada, Major LEWIS accompanied him as the chief of his staff, with the rank of colonel; after the army retired from Canada, congress appointed him quarter-master-general for the northern department. The remainder of the campaign was spent at Ticonderoga with an efficient force of about twelve thousand men, which kept the field until December, before it went into winter quarters, constantly expecting an attack from General Carleton, who, however, returned to Canada, after having approached within two miles and in full view of the American camp.

The campaign at the north opened in July, 1777, with the evacuation of Ticonderoga by its meagre garrison of two thousand two hundred men, in the face of a beleaguering force of quadruple its numbers. The retreat was effected with little loss; and the check given to the ninth British regiment at fort Ann, gave time for the security of the *attirail*, provisions, and munitions at the dependent posts, which were conveyed to Van Schaick's island opposite the city of Troy. About the 20th of August, General Gates again assumed the command; and the army, being reinforced, advanced to its ultimate position, selected by Kosciuszko, on Behmus' heights, where volunteers flocked to its standard from every direction.

Immediately after the action on the 19th of September, General Gates issued a general order in the following terms: "In the event of another conflict with the enemy, all orders given on the field by the adjutant, or quarter-master-general, are to be considered as coming from head quarters, and to be obeyed accordingly." From this it is fair to infer that the conduct of these officers in the preceding action, met with the approbation of the commander-in-chief.

On the morning of the 7th of October, the drums again beat to

arms, and information was received that the enemy was marching in force against the American left. Colonel LEWIS received an order from head quarters to repair to the scene of action with six or eight of the most intelligent and best mounted of Vernéjour's troops as videttes and messengers; to select the most commanding positions, whence to watch the movements of the enemy and the tide of battle; and to transmit to head quarters an immediate report of every important event as it should occur. That this mark of confidence in the judgment and capability of Colonel LEWIS was well bestowed, is sufficiently proved by the events that followed. The general himself saw nothing of the battle, but was constantly kept informed of its progress, and the reserved corps were marched by the most direct routes to the points where most required. The convention of Saratoga having been concluded on the 16th, the next day at noon the general officers of the hostile army, with its general staff, were introduced to the quarters of General Gates, with whom they dined; and about one o'clock, their rank and file descended from the heights to the plain on the margin of the Hudson river, where they were received by Colonel LEWIS, and, having stacked their arms, were conducted by him through a double line of American troops, to the rear of the encampment, whence they immediately commenced their march to Boston.

In 1778, Colonel LEWIS accompanied General Clinton on an expedition against a predatory party consisting of British regulars, Butler's, Caldwell's, and M'Kay's partisan corps, with Brant's savages, who, under command of Sir John Johnson, were laying waste the fertile valley of the Mohawk.

On this occasion, he was honored by Governor Clinton with the command of the advance, composed of a detachment of the first New York regiment, Major Van Benschoten's levies, and the Indians under Colonel Louis. At Stone Arabia, the enemy was attacked in the night and routed, with the loss of baggage, a small field-piece, and a few men; the residue fled, and reaching their boats before morning, escaped over the Oneida lake.

In 1780, he again marched with Governor Clinton to Crown Point, on lake Champlain, to cut off the retreat of the same hostile troops, who had debarked at that place, and crossed the country once more to ravage the ill-fated Mohawk valley. They escaped on this occasion by a *ruse* of Indian ingenuity.

At the close of the war, Colonel LEWIS returned to the profession of the law. He was appointed colonel commandant of a legionary

corps of volunteer militia of the city of New York; at the head of which he had the honor of escorting General Washington at his first inauguration as president of the United States.

In the same year, he was elected a representative from the city of New York to the state assembly; and in the succeeding year, to the same situation from the county of Dutchess, to which he had removed. He was also appointed one of the judges of the common pleas, and in December, 1791, was appointed attorney-general of the state. The next year, he was raised to the bench of the supreme court, and in 1801, was commissioned chief justice of his native state.

In 1804, he was elected governor; and having now become *ex officio* chancellor of the university, his attention was drawn to the subject of general education, and he determined to press the establishment of a permanent fund for the support of common schools, as a foundation for science, literature, morals, religion, and every other social blessing. Accordingly we find in his first address to the legislature in 1805, the following:

"I cannot conclude, gentlemen, without calling your attention to a subject which my worthy and highly respected predecessor in office had much at heart, and frequently, I believe, presented, though not perhaps in an official form, to your view, *the encouragement of literature*.

In a government resting on public opinion, and deriving its chief support from the affections of a people, religion and morality cannot be too sedulously inculcated. To them science is a handmaid, ignorance the worst of enemies. Literary information should be placed within the reach of every description of citizens; and poverty should not be permitted to obstruct the path to the fane of knowledge.

Common schools, under the guidance of respectable teachers, should be established in every village, and the indigent educated at the public expense. The higher seminaries also should receive every support and patronage within the means of enlightened legislators. Learning would thus flourish, and vice be more effectually restrained than by volumes of penal statutes."

In his military character as commander-in-chief, he personally reviewed and inspected the whole militia of the state, and introduced as an important arm of defence among them the use of *horse artillery*; which, after having stood the test of ridicule for some years, established its importance in the course of the last war, and has sustained its character and employment ever since.

He also pressed upon the legislature, the obligation it was under, of complying with the injunction of the fortieth article of the then constitution, which, among other things, directed the establishment of magazines of warlike stores at the public expense, in each of the counties of the state.

This had hitherto been neglected, but was now to a considerable extent carried into effect, and greatly contributed to the successes of the war of 1812. Enmity, opposition, and censure, are invariably a part of the price paid for the enjoyment of elevated stations. On the occasions here referred to, acts which we should suppose patriotism would have approved, met in the halls of the legislature with vituperation. The reviews *by brigade* were ascribed to the vanity of the governor, regardless of the fact that his orders left it to the discretion of the brigadier-general, to parade by brigades or regiments, as they should find it most agreeable and convenient. The establishment of magazines in compliance with the solemn injunctions of the constitution, was denounced as extravagant, and a useless and profligate squandering of the public funds, which had never been recommended, it was alleged, by any of his predecessors.

In 1810, Mr. LEWIS was elected to the senate from the middle district of the state, by a much larger majority than had ever before been given.

In May, 1812, he was appointed quarter-master-general of the armies of the United States, with the rank of a brigadier. In the discharge of the duties of that department after the declaration of war, his strict adherence to the established regulations gave dissatisfaction to some of the state authorities, who we are willing to believe were influenced more by an impatient zeal for the service, than by any just cause of complaint or personal inconvenience; but as we have on a former occasion given place to an implied charge against the "quarter-master-general of that day,"* it is proper that we should here give the explanation which we have since obtained. The charge, then, appears to rest on the following isolated fact. A regimental quarter-master applied at the pay office of the department for funds to convey a militia company of his regiment, from Albany to Sackett's harbor, and was informed that the army regulations did not admit of such advances, but on extraordinary occasions, and then only on an order from head quarters. That the mode for procuring transport was for the commander of the detachment to furnish a return of its strength, its time of departure, and its place of rendezvous; when the transport allowed by law would be furnished, and the necessary subsistence be granted on application to the contractor's agent.

This was declined. At the close of the campaign, a demand was

* In the life of Governor Tompkins, p. 5., Vol. I.

made on the department for three thousand dollars, to discharge the expenses incurred by this company while on its march, which was refused. It was understood to have been afterwards paid by the state quarter-master-general, on the order of the governor. Had the legal course been adopted, the expense, it is said, would have been less than a tithe of that sum.

A cartel for the exchange of prisoners having been settled between the commanding generals of the hostile armies, General LEWIS opened a correspondence with the secretary at war, urging him to take measures for bringing from captivity those belonging to the United States. The secretary stated that the only difficulty was the procuring a sufficient sum in a currency which would be received in Canada in discharge of the debts they had contracted, and providing the necessary means of conveyance from Quebec to the United States. General LEWIS promptly engaged to furnish the means for the accomplishment of both objects, and received an unlimited and unrestricted authority to carry his proposition into effect.

Having, immediately after the unfortunate termination of the affair at Queenstown, sent letters of credit in favor of some of the officers there captured, upon a gentleman in Montreal, to whom he was well known, and who without hesitation, honored his drafts, he had no doubt of procuring the necessary means for the relief of the liberated prisoners, through the same channel. He, therefore, immediately despatched an infantry officer of the United States army, furnished with the required means for the performance of that duty. The debts of the prisoners were discharged, a transport chartered for their conveyance, and they were landed in Bosted early in December.

By the treasury books it appears the government credited General LEWIS with the sum of fourteen thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, advanced by him on the occasion.

The gallant Colonel Worth, in a letter to the editor, speaking of "the quarter-master-general of that day," says, "at a period when the treasury was empty, and public credit nearly extinguished, his own good name and resources enabled him to minister to public and individual relief. American prisoners at Quebec were in a suffering condition,—the British commissary refused bills on our government, as through the ordinary commercial channels, it was impossible to negotiate them. The house of M'Gilvany, however, offered to cash any bills drawn on MORGAN LEWIS in his individual capacity. Thus our countrymen were relieved, and very few of the recipients to this day know the source whence the relief came."

We have also been favored with a copy of a letter from another American officer after his release from captivity, where he had been detained as a hostage from May, 1813. It is dated Beauport, August 29th, 1814, and addressed to General LEWIS:

DEAR GENERAL,

I am obliged to trouble you with another bill of exchange before I depart from this place. I have this day drawn a bill at sight for six hundred dollars.

This bill is not for my own use, but for the relief of the American officers, late hostages and still detained prisoners, though exchanged. It is proper briefly to state the reason which compels me to use your letter of credit, for purposes entirely of a public concern. Urged by the destitute condition of the officers, many of whom were without funds to pay their house rent, I applied to his Excellency, Sir George Prevost, commander of the forces, &c., to negotiate a bill on the government of the United States. My request was refused, owing to the difficulty experienced in arranging these matters hereafter with the American government. Recourse was then had to mercantile houses in Quebec and Montreal, none of which would take a bill on the American government. But my countrymen have been most opportunely relieved by the generosity of the honorable Major Muir, who, feeling their embarrassment, has advanced the required sum on your private credit.

While in command at Sackett's harbor, General LEWIS advanced a considerable sum of money to Colonel Willcox, to enable him to fulfil his engagements to a corps he had raised in Canada, by permission of the American government, on his own funds, in the collection of which he had experienced a temporary disappointment.

Nor, while he remained at the post, was his beneficence confined to his own countrymen. Several British officers who were taken prisoners on the lake by Commodore Chauncey, were brought into Sackett's harbor destitute of funds and clothing, their baggage having been in another vessel, which escaped. These gentlemen applied to General LEWIS for assistance, which was readily granted. To the Baron de Longuille, (whom the general had known when a boy,) on his own personal responsibility; and to Captain Tyeth, for himself and officers, on his draft upon Colonel Edward Baynes, adjutant-general of the British forces. This draft was forwarded by flag to Kingston, and produced the following return:

"*Kingston, July 13th*, 1813.

"I do myself the honor of addressing to your care a letter for Captain Tyeth, of the eighth, or king's, a prisoner of war at Sackett's harbor, containing a bill on the American government, for one thousand dollars, being for cash advanced to Brigadier-General Winchester, by the commissary-general of the British army, endorsed in favor of Captain Tyeth, which you are requested to cause to be delivered to that officer, to enable him to pay the pecuniary obligation he is under to your kindness and consideration." A postscript is added, that Sir George Prevost begs to assure General LEWIS, that any

future advances he may *in his discretion* make to British prisoners, will be immediately repaid on presentment of their draft with his endorsement.

At the commencement of the last war, the justly lamented General Leavenworth tenanted a farm in a patrimonial estate of General Lewis, in the county of Delaware; and having obtained a captain's commission, he raised a company in that county, and joined the army acting on the Niagara frontier: its great gallantry procured for its able and worthy commander rapid promotion, but literally, in the course of the war, its own annihilation; only two or three of its members having, at its close, returned to their homes, and those disabled by wounds. The exigencies of the war had so greatly reduced agricultural labor and products in that part of the country, that the agent of the general had been unable to collect any rents from his estate during its continuance. In consequence of which the general sent to his agent the following order:

Every tenant who has himself, or whose son, living with and working for his father, has served in the course of the last war, either in the regular army or militia, is to have a year's rent remitted for every campaign he has so served, either personally or by substitute. A regular discharge during a campaign on account of sickness, to be considered as serving a campaign.

It being stated to the general shortly after, that his tenants who had not served in the army had been unable to improve their farms to advantage, in consequence of the diminution of labor, he sent to his agent the following:

Mr. Landon will remit to such tenants as are actually resident on their farms all arrearages of rent accrued during their own residence up to the 1st day of February last, dated October 2d, 1816.

Mr. Landon, who lived on the estate and had the agency of it for more than thirty years, having recently died, the preceding documents have been furnished by his eldest son, who certifies that the aggregate of such remissions amounted to the sum of seven thousand four hundred and two dollars, sixty-three cents.

We have selected these incidents from the mass of interesting facts which have been communicated to us from various sources, because they are more or less connected with the general's military life, and are sufficiently characteristic of his generous disposition and public spirit.

In March, 1813, General Lewis was promoted to the rank of major-general, his connection with the quarter-master's department ceased, and he was ordered to the Niagara frontier.

He assumed the command of his division on the 17th of April, concentrated his forces in the neighborhood of Fort Niagara, introduced order and discipline, and prepared to follow out the plan of the commander-in-chief, General Dearborn, who arrived on the 2d of May, and united his forces, which had been employed in the capture of York, with the division of Niagara. On the 12th, Colonel Scott with eight hundred men arrived from Oswego; a few days afterward Chandler's brigade, one thousand two hundred and sixty strong, arrived from Sackett's harbor, to which were successively added Macomb's artillery, three hundred and fifty, and the twenty-third regiment, with recruits for other regiments amounting to about five hundred and fifty men.

On the 27th, a force of between four and five thousand men, under the command of General LEWIS, made a successful descent on the British side of the Niagara river, near Fort George. He landed at the head of his division immediately after the advance guard had attacked the force assembled to dispute the debarkation; this first brought him, during the campaign, under the fire of the enemy. The British troops, after an animated conflict on the shore, were compelled to retire towards the town of Newark and the fort, whence, after firing their stores and magazines, they retreated, part by the river, and part by the Black swamp roads. As the stores were known to be valuable, great exertions were made to extinguish the fires, which were, however, only arrested by tearing the buildings to pieces.

The American troops were allowed to rest in the village for a few minutes, after which the pursuit of the enemy commenced. The *élite* and Boyd's brigade, with the exception of the rifle corps, advanced by the river road, the riflemen by that of the Black swamp. The pursuit was, however, soon arrested, not as has been erroneously stated, by orders from General LEWIS, but by those of the commander-in-chief, who, from indisposition had remained on board the Madison ship of war, anchored about two miles from the Canada shore. "Thus it was," says Colonel Worth, "*by orders* he (General LEWIS) recalled Scott, leading the advance guard, from his hot pursuit of the enemy then within his grasp near Queenstown." Much dissatisfaction was expressed at the time, because the enemy's garrison, about three thousand strong, was not captured as well as their post. Whether the order of General Dearborn was well timed or not, we are not called upon to give an opinion; but as the execution of the plan was intrusted to General LEWIS, we do consider it proper to say,

that we have the most ample testimony to prove that "his conduct on that occasion was worthy of his revolutionary character."

When the British flag was seen to descend and the American to ascend in Fort George, General Dearborn despatched his deputy adjutant-general, Major Beebe, with an order to General LEWIS to "*halt the troops*, and take a defensible position for the night." His orders were forwarded to the several commanders. General Boyd was overtaken at the distance of four miles; Scott about a mile in advance of him. The two corps immediately united and returned to Newark. Forsyth returned with about one hundred prisoners, unarmed artillerists, who had evacuated the fort after the infantry had abandoned them. A few minutes after Major Beebe had delivered the above order to General LEWIS, the commander-in-chief appeared on the ground, mounted, and reassumed the command. The reason for thus suspending the pursuit given in his official account of the transaction is, that "the troops, having been under arms from one o'clock in the morning, were too much exhausted for any further pursuit."

A few days after the capture of Fort George, the brigades of Generals Chandler and Winder were advanced under the former, to seek and attack the enemy, who were supposed to be in the neighborhood of Burlington heights.

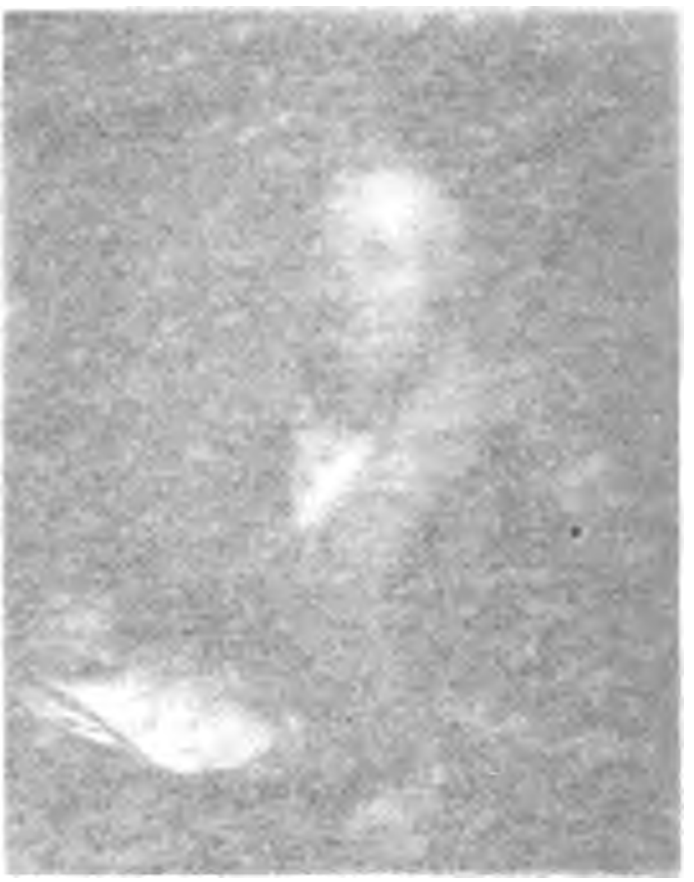
"On this command, badly and negligently posted, the enemy made a gallant, and, for the object, successful night attack, which, although finally repulsed with great loss to the assailants, resulted in the loss of our two brigadiers. After this disaster, General LEWIS was despatched to take command, and be governed by circumstances. He found the troops in good spirits, although somewhat disorganized; and the enemy's numbers and position not well defined. They were, however, on a favorable line for a retreat, moving on the arc of a circle, flanked on its whole *tracé* by the lake shore, approachable on the entire circuit by their fleet, then in possession of the lake. Every step our force advanced, removed it from our main position, and gave the enemy the advantage of retiring on their resources; beside which, it would have been in their power at any moment, had the pursuit been continued, to have taken to their fleet, and by moving on the *chord* while we were retrograding on the *arc*, have thrown an overwhelming force on our base before the advanced command could, by any possibility, have come to the rescue. At this time the British fleet had been descried from Fort George, and General Dearborn, apprehending an attack on that post, ordered General LEWIS to conduct his

command to head quarters, which he did; but not without considerable loss of baggage and batteaux." Towards the latter part of the summer of 1813, General LEWIS was ordered to assume command of the forces assembled at Sackett's harbor, and thence accompany the new general-in-chief, Wilkinson, on the descent of the St. Lawrence. The precise object in view in this movement, if any, was at the time a mystery to the army, and one on which subsequent history has thrown no light. We only know that the secretary of war, who had joined the army, and the general-in-chief, like old tacticians, in view of contingent responsibility, were playing deeply at the game of *ruse contre ruse.*

It was understood the former proposed to strike at once at Montreal, and beyond all doubt the force (in conjunction with Hampton's division) was adequate; the latter interposed objections to leaving a fortress in his rear,—a doctrine exploded *even among the Austrians*, —that finally the war minister yielded the point, when lo! the general was for a dash at Montreal.

When the army moved from Sackett's harbor, about the 16th of October, General LEWIS was in bad health, and the general-in-chief complaining. After many delays and misadventures, the troops reached a place called Chrystler's, on the 10th of November; on the evening of that day, the enemy appeared in our rear, displaying a heavy flotilla, and an imposing column on the land, between which and our rear guard some skirmishing took place. Brown's brigade together with the light troops had previously advanced twenty miles to carry some batteries constructed by the enemy on eligible points, at the various rapids, the possession of which was indispensable to the passage of the boats. On that day, General Wilkinson gave up the command to General LEWIS, who was himself confined to his vessel by indisposition; he, however, made an effort, reconnoitred the enemy in the afternoon, and *at midnight despatched an order to the general* (Boyd) *commanding on shore, forthwith to strike his camp and unite with the advance, and a corresponding order to the flotilla.* The effect of this movement would have been to draw the enemy farther from his resources, to entangle his flotilla in the rapids, rendering retreat impossible—to have had the advantage of attacking his columns with a united force, and finally, rendering the capture of both morally certain.

The officer who communicated the order to General Boyd had not left his presence before *an order was delivered from General Wilkinson*, (without the knowledge of or communication with the actual



GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE.

To form a correct estimate of the services of GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE, we must examine the extensive outline of the British possessions in North America at the commencement of the Revolutionary war; we must turn our attention from the broad field of contest, stretching along the Atlantic, where the sovereignty of the elder States was lost and won, and trace the links of that chain which galled the Northern and Western frontiers of the United States during the war for Independence, but which were broken in succession by a series of gallant exploits, that ultimately secured the extensive western domain of the republic, and gave existence to the new States on the Ohio and Mississippi. We must become acquainted with the horrors of Indian warfare as it was waged upon those, who at that time were the pioneers of the far West. We must seek the origin, and notice, at least in part, the execution of the savage policy of the British ministry, which drew from the venerable Earl of Chatham those bursts of indignant eloquence, which have rendered his name familiar to every schoolboy in America. Then it will be seen, that the object of that barbarous and cruel policy, or whatever else it might have been, which let loose the tomahawk and scalping knife upon the frontier settlers of the States, which the immortal senator denounced, was severely chastised and checked, if not defeated, by the energy and prowess of CLARKE, at the head of a mere handful of brave backwoodsmen.

From the first settlement of the Colonies in America, whether by the Spaniards, French, or English, all had availed themselves of the divisions amongst the aboriginal tribes, their thirst for revenge, their love of the fierce excitements of war, and their credulity; and sought, first, to attach those tribes nearest to their settlements to themselves, and then set them on to destroy their enemies. The wars and national animosities of Europe were transferred with the Colonists to the American wilderness. All the barbarities of Indian warfare

were tolerated and frequently rewarded.* The red men were stimulated to destroy each other, and to shed the blood of white men, and to spare not; and when even the Europeans were at peace among themselves, base and mercenary individuals of their race availed themselves of their intercourse with the Indian tribes to rouse them to deeds of violence. We do not say that contention could have been always avoided, had the short-sighted policy of the whites been of a more humane and consistent character. The very growth and extension of the Colonies would have created jealousy in the hunters of the forest, and a consequent effort to check the intrusion. The interests and habits of civilized and savage life, when they interfere with each other, must lead sooner or later to collision and strife; and to terminate the consequent evils once for all, extermination or separation are the alternatives. The former has been extensively practised upon, but the latter has been for many years the grand scheme of the republic.

At the termination of the French war, in 1763, Great Britain held the vast tract of country which extends north and east of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi—from the Atlantic Ocean to the unexplored regions of the Frozen Sea. The wars between the French and English for the possession of Canada, and for the territory between the lakes and the Ohio, had brought into the field, on both sides, auxiliary Indian forces. The treaty of peace negotiated at Paris did not secure tranquillity to the inhabitants of the borders. The Indian tribes on the North-western territory only paused to form new plans, and then went on to harass the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania as they had done before. Their scalping parties advanced into the settlements, and marked their way with the most horrid cruelties. Large bodies of the confederated tribes attacked all the distant fortified posts, and in fifteen days captured ten of them and massacred the garrisons. Forts Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit held out, and were relieved and saved.

Although a peace with the Indians was formally concluded by Colonel Bouquet in 1764, their fixed hostility to the whites displayed itself whenever an opportunity presented of taking a prisoner or a scalp.

* There were exceptions, but they were few. When the Indians were employed by the Europeans in their wars, attempts to control them gave offence: the following extract from Williams's History of Florida is to the point:—"A Cherokee encountering a Spaniard, cut off his head and brought it to Oglethorpe, but he spurned the savage with abhorrence, and, calling him a barbarous dog, bid him begone. The Cherokee said that the French would have treated them very differently. They soon after drew off, and left the place."

Retaliation followed of course. Thus the backwoodsmen became familiar with all the subleties and craft of Indian warfare; and such in general was their love of adventure and disdain of danger, that they frequently undertook hazardous enterprises from mere curiosity, or the pleasure of traversing a country where no white man had ever trod before.

About the year 1770, the unoccupied domain of Virginia, west of the Cumberland mountains, began to attract the attention of the adventurous inhabitants of the borders. Individuals and small parties successively ventured to explore the unknown region. Many of them never returned; but those who did, gave the most favorable reports of the richness of the soil and the abundance of game. The settlement of the present State of Kentucky immediately followed; and about a year afterward the Revolutionary war commenced.

Amongst those who visited Kentucky at, or soon after, the period that the earliest emigrants had there set up their cabins, was GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE. He was a Virginian; born in Albemarle, on the 19th of Nove. 1752, but is spoken of as a resident in one of the Western counties in 1776, when he went on a tour of observation amongst the new settlements. He visited the forts, the camps, the cabins; he spent much of his time in the woods, made himself acquainted with every subject of interest in the country, and gained the friendship and confidence of the people by the manliness of his deportment, his intelligence and vivacity, and above all, by the boldness of his spirit for enterprise, and the determination he expressed of becoming a resident of the country. This visit of Mr. CLARKE was productive of very important events. He ascertained that the whole frontier was vexed by Indian atrocities, through the influence of British agents. The savages were instigated to deeds of cruelty by the promises of reward for *scalps*, but not for prisoners; and they were supplied with rum, arms, ammunition and clothing at the British posts, which were established from the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence. Mr. CLARKE was deeply affected by the scenes of hostility by which he found himself surrounded. He therefore devised a plan to capture the Western posts, a work which was well adapted to employ his genius, and, if attended with success, to gratify his military propensities and ardent love of adventure.

The reader will remember that the British posts on the Wabash and the Mississippi were within the bounds of the Virginia charter; that at the time of which we are now writing, a strong current of emigration had begun to set towards the West; and that in 1777,

Kentucky was admitted to the privileges of a County of Virginia. The possibility and importance of capturing those posts, and securing thereby the tranquillity of the frontier, was suggested by Mr. CLARKE to the governor and legislature of Virginia, and his project met with a favorable reception. In the beginning of 1778 a regiment of State troops was raised for the service of the Western frontier, and placed under his command. With a force of between two and three hundred men, Colonel CLARKE crossed the mountains to the Monongahela, and descended by water to the falls of the Ohio. There he left thirteen families of emigrants, who had ventured so far under his escort; and being there joined by a party of volunteers from Kentucky, he proceeded with his regiment in boats down the Ohio, to a point about sixty miles from its mouth and one hundred and thirty from Kaskaskia, which was the secret object of the expedition. The route lay through a low country, intersected by numerous streams and ponds of various dimensions, and covered with a luxuriant vegetation. With his rifle in his hand and his provisions on his back, Colonel CLARKE marched at the head of his men, and encountered every difficulty and shared every privation with them. Their provisions were exhausted two days before they reached the town; and although game might have been shot in abundance, the report of a rifle might have warned some solitary hunter or roving Indian of their approach, and secrecy was essential to success. They arrived by night before the town of Kaskaskia, and found the inhabitants and the garrison lulled in the supposed security of their remote position, and so unconscious of danger, that they were completely taken by surprise, and surrendered without resistance. No one was allowed to escape to carry the news to the villages higher up the Mississippi, and in a few days all the settlements were taken. The inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the United States, the fort at Kaskaskia became the head-quarters of Colonel CLARKE, and at the next session of the Virginia legislature the district was created into a county, and called *Illinois*.

His next exploit was the capture of Vincennes. That post had been considered within reach of an attack from the American settlements, and was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned with British troops, commanded by Governor Hamilton, and supported by an auxiliary Indian force of about six hundred warriors. Governor Hamilton was very soon informed of CLARKE'S success, and determined to attack him; but, confident in the superiority of his force, he deferred his operations until the rivers and smaller streams, which

then overflowed their banks, should become passable. Colonel CLARKE, in the mean time, prepared to attack Vincennes, and despatched a party to reconnoitre, while he strengthened the defences of Kaskaskia, which he determined to hold at all hazards. While he was arranging his plans for future operations, an itinerant Spanish merchant, who had recently visited Vincennes, arrived, and informed him that Governor Hamilton had detached his Indians to the Ohio and the frontiers of Kentucky; that he proposed to retake Kaskaskia in the Spring, to cut off the inhabitants on the Ohio as far as Fort Pitt, and then operate on the frontiers of Virginia. Colonel CLARKE determined upon instant operations. He made the best preparations he could for a march of one hundred and sixty miles across a country abounding in embarrassments. Several large rivers and their tributary streams, with broad belts of inundated land on each side, were to be crossed without boats or bridges; and the whole route lay over a soil which afforded no firm footing, and through rough and pathless woods. Without wagons and without tents, their ammunition and provisions on their backs and on the backs of a few packhorses, one hundred and thirty men toiled for sixteen days through mud and water. The last five days were occupied in crossing the swamps and drowned lands within about six miles of the fort, wading sometimes breast deep in water, and then forcing their way through tangled thickets and over floating timber. It was mid winter; and had not the weather been unusually mild, all these brave men must have perished. On the evening of the 23d of February, 1779, they reached dry land within view of the fort. The town immediately surrendered. The attack on the fort commenced, and there was a continual fire on both sides for eighteen hours. The next night, after the setting of the moon, the assailants threw up an entrenchment within rifle shot of the strongest battery, and poured such showers of well-directed balls into the ports, that in fifteen minutes two pieces of cannon were silenced. The next evening Governor Hamilton surrendered the garrison prisoners of war, and Colonel CLARKE took possession of the fort and a large quantity of stores. In the height of the action an Indian war party approached with two French prisoners. Colonel CLARKE detached a part of his men to give them battle on the commons. Nine Indians were taken, and the Frenchmen released. Hearing, soon after, of a convoy of goods from Detroit, he sent sixty men in armed boats, well mounted with swivels, to intercept it. They met the convoy forty leagues up the river, and made prize of the whole, taking forty prisoners and about ten thou

sand pounds worth of goods and provisions, and the mail from Canada. Having more prisoners than he knew what to do with, he was obliged to discharge a great part of them on parole. Governor Hamilton and his principal officers were sent to Virginia, and Colonel CLARKE returned to Kaskaskia, leaving a sufficient garrison at Vincennes. Up to this time he had been left to the resources of his own judgment, and had accomplished a great work with very small means. He had received neither letters nor assistance from Virginia in upwards of a year. Could he have mustered three hundred men at Vincennes, he would have marched to Detroit; and such was the effect on his little band, of a vote of thanks by the Legislature of Virginia for the capture of the posts on the Mississippi, that they would have attempted the reduction of that important post had the commander requested it. But prudence forbade the attempt, though from subsequent information there was a strong probability it would have been successful. The alliance with France had been effected, the inhabitants were principally descendants of French settlers, the haughty and tyrannical conduct of Governor Hamilton had offended them, they rejoiced at his captivity, and had prepared for a welcome reception of the Americans. But before CLARKE heard of all this, Detroit had been reinforced, and the favorable opportunity was lost. The brilliant exploits of Colonel CLARKE had, however, deranged the extensive plans of the enemy, and some of the western tribes were detached from the British interest; the limits of the United States were extended to the Mississippi, where they remained fixed; and the current of population rolled steadily onward to the West without impediment. The families before mentioned as having been left at the falls of Ohio, had taken up their abode upon an island for more easy defence; they now removed to the Kentucky shore, and founded Louisville, which soon became a place of importance, and Colonel CLARKE made it his head-quarters.

The alliance with France and the mediation of Spain excited sanguine hopes in the country that peace would soon follow, and the question of boundaries began to present itself in all its important bearings upon the future interests of the United States. It had been suggested that *possession* by either party might be the principle adopted in the final adjustment. If that principle had been contemplated by Great Britain, it might have been one of the motives which led to the subornation of Indian hostilities on the borders; but we can hardly believe that to have been the case, for Great Britain had not yet begun to view the question as one which could possibly arise. On the contrary, the Americans had no doubt that at some period not

remote, the boundaries must be defined, and as the principle of occupation might be adopted, Virginia determined to make the earliest and best use of her means in anticipation. Colonel CLARKE was, therefore, directed to select a commanding position on the Mississippi, near the southern boundary claimed by the State, and there establish a fort and garrison, and to advance his posts towards the lakes, that they might be in actual possession of, and give protection to, the State. In compliance with these orders, he built Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi. This gave umbrage to the Chickasaws, as it was erected on their hunting-ground; but full explanations being given of the object of the measure, and of its importance for their own security, as well as for that of Virginia, they became satisfied; and when the fort and garrison were afterwards attacked by hostile Indians, the Chickasaws came to their relief, and drove off the besieging force. The place was subsequently restored to the Chickasaws. In the northern quarter Colonel CLARKE proceeded with his usual judgment, combining policy with enterprise, encouraging peace among the friendly tribes, and directing against the hostile the force of those who could not be persuaded to remain inactive. His influence with the Indians was very great. He assembled four or five thousand at Vincennes to carry out his favorite project—the capture of Detroit; but, disappointed in the number of whites he had expected, and not choosing to rely almost entirely upon Indians, he was obliged to abandon the expedition. Meanwhile the British commander at Detroit was not idle. On the 1st of June, 1780, he assembled six hundred Canadians and Indians, for a secret expedition under Colonel Byrd. On the 22d, this force presented itself with two field-pieces before Ruddle's station in Kentucky, which was obliged to capitulate: Martin's station was captured immediately afterward, and the inhabitants of both were loaded with the spoil of their own dwellings, and hurried off towards Canada. A prompt retaliation was required; and when Colonel CLARKE called on the militia of Kentucky for volunteers to accompany his regiment against the Indians, there was no delay on their part. Having collected a respectable portion of the force of the country, he led it against the Shawanees on the Great Miami. A fierce conflict at Pickawa, one of their principal towns, terminated in the flight of the Indians. The town was burnt, and all the means of subsistence of the inhabitants was destroyed. Colonel CLARKE returned to the Ohio, and discharged the militia; and the Indians, being reduced to the necessity of hunting for the support of their families, gave Kentucky no further trouble that season. In December

of the same year he was in Richmond, urging the government for means to execute his favorite enterprise—the reduction of Detroit—the grand focus of Indian hostilities from the Mohawk to the Mississippi. His views were approved; but before the necessary arrangements could be completed, a British force from New-York, under Arnold, carried hostilities into the heart of the State. Colonel CLARKE took a temporary command under Baron Steuben, and participated in the active measures of that officer against the marauding traitor.

After several months had been spent in indefatigable efforts to obtain a force of two thousand men for the enterprise against Detroit, the several corps destined for the service were designated, and ordered to rendezvous on the 15th of March, 1781, at the falls of Ohio, and CLARK was raised to the rank of a Brigadier General: but unexpected and insuperable difficulties arose, and the ardent genius of the commander was confined to defensive operations. This appears to us to have been the turning point in the fortunes of the hardy warrior.

It has been our object, in the conduct of this work, to state only well-attested facts; to award merited praise; to cultivate a proper respect for the institutions, and the men of genius, and every variety of talent in our own country; and to cherish every patriotic sentiment by the influence of example. It frequently has been our pleasing study to exhibit the impulsion of individual character upon the destinies of the nation—to connect biography with history, and thus far we have so traced the career of the subject of this sketch. We have followed him over a broad field, have marked the energy, perseverance, and determination of his character; we have shown the daring bravery, the fertile genius, and the correct judgment of the individual, uniting in the achievement of exploits of permanent and national interest and honor, and impelling him onward to the accomplishment of others of still greater benefit to his country. We must now reverse the order of our reflections, and note the effect of disappointment upon the individual, who, having done much, is conscious he can do more, but finds his future prospects blighted at the moment of their brightest promise. He had set his heart upon destroying the British influence throughout the whole north-western territory. Could he have had the means which he required, his advancement in rank would, no doubt, have been gratifying; but without a General's command, a General's commission was of no value. Dangers and hardships he would have disregarded; but with his small force, to be stationed on the frontier to repel the inroads of a few predatory bands of Indians when he was eager to carry the war to the lakes, was more than he

could bear, and it preyed upon his spirit. He was a lion chained, but he was still a lion, and so the enemy found him in 1782. When the news of the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks reached General CLARKE, he took immediate measures to rouse the country from its anguish and despondency, and to carry the war once more into the enemy's territory.

In September of that year a thousand mounted riflemen assembled on the banks of the Ohio, and were put in motion by the General for the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto. The expedition was conducted with the celerity to be expected from the quality and temper of the troops. The Indians fled before them, and not more than twelve were killed or taken. Five of their towns were reduced to ashes, and all their provisions were destroyed; the effect of which was, that no formidable party of Indians ever afterward invaded Kentucky.

In the course of the ensuing two years, the Kentuckians found themselves in circumstances of restraint. Peace had taken place, but they were threatened with Indian hostilities: these, if brought into their own district, they could repel; but experience had often proved that the best defence against Indians was to anticipate their attacks, and this they had not now the right to do, as the territory north-west of the Ohio had been ceeded to the United States, and Kentucky was still a part of Virginia. The remedy proposed at this time was a separation from Virginia, the formation of an independent State, and admission to the Union. Conventions were called, delegates appointed to consult on, and take measures for, the future safety of the district, and for the redress of real and imaginary grievances. This was a period of agitation in Kentucky, and agitators were there who knew, or thought they knew, how to take advantage of the popular feelings. James Wilkinson, whose name, both before and since, has been united with the most remarkable intrigues and plots in the history of our country, was then a settler at Lexington, and had gained an ascendency; and the name of the hitherto most popular man west of the mountains is not to be found among the delegates on any occasion during this period. Congress, however, had not forgotten him; and he was appointed, in March, 1784, with four other gentlemen, to negotiate friendly treaties with the Indians. Several treaties were made, but the only remarkable incident which we have seen recorded is described in the *Notes of an Old Officer*. The Indians came in to the treaty at Fort Washington (January, 1786,) in the most friendly manner, except the Shawanees, the most conceited and warlike of the

aborigines; the first in at a battle, the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors, set off in all their paint and feathers, filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States' stockade mustered 70 men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat General CLARKE—the indefatigable scourge of these marauders—General Butler, and Mr. Parsons. On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war-chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villainous look, made a threatening speech, which operated effectually on the Indians, who set up a whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify their readiness for peace or war. General CLARKE retained an unaltered and careless countenance throughout, and with his cane pushed the wampum off the table. Every Indian started from his seat with one of those sudden, startling sounds which express their indignation. General CLARKE also arose, and casting upon the savage group a scornful glance, put his foot upon the insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, and all night they were heard debating near the fort. In the morning they came back, and sued for peace.

In the same year, and but a few months after the ratification of the treaties, a new army was raised, to march against the Indians on the Wabash. The nations had made peace, but the individuals would wage war, and the governments on either side of the Ohio could not control their subjects. General CLARKE, at the head of a thousand men, again entered the Indian country. Having reached the vicinity of Vincennes the troops were halted nine days, to give time for the provisions and ammunition and provisions to come up, which had been sent by water. The boats had been delayed upon the river, and when they arrived half the provision they brought was spoiled. A spirit of discontent had already manifested itself in camp, and now became more apparent. The troops were, however, put in motion, and advanced; but a rumor was circulated that the General had despatched a messenger with the offer of peace or war; this converted restlessness into disaffection among the troops, which was fomented by some of their officers into mutiny; and when within two days' march of the Indian town, three hundred men turned their backs upon the camp. The General, who saw the ruinous consequences of this revolt, addressed them in the most conciliating terms, but in vain. The expedition was abandoned; and—"General Wilkinson, who was at the falls of Ohio, wrote to a friend in Fayette, 'that the sun of

General CLARKE's military glory had set, never more to rise.'" The author of the history of Kentucky says, "There was much meaning in this sentence, which those who had fathomed Wilkinson knew how to interpret and appreciate. Rumors were, indeed, unfavorable to General CLARKE; but those rumors had been set afloat by his enemies, who wanted an apology for their own conduct; and who, in turn, were accused of fomenting the insubordination and mutiny, of which they availed themselves to terminate the campaign dishonorably. Candor, however, extorts a confession, that is made with regret, that General CLARKE, at this time, 'was not the man he had been.' A high sense of injustice and neglect had been left to corrode his mind, by the government whose territory he had enlarged, and whose reputation he had raised to renown. This had produced a chagrin, which, in the mortification and ennui incident to the want of employment, had sought extinguishment in the free use of ardent spirits."

Several years elapsed before the name of General CLARKE again appeared in connexion with public affairs. Meanwhile, Kentucky had become one of the States of the Union. The insolent conduct of the French minister, Genet, is known to every reader of American history. He had been in the country but a few months, when he set on foot a clandestine expedition from Kentucky against the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi, and GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE was furnished with a commission, as a Major-General in the armies of France, to organise and conduct it; but before the project was put in execution, a counter revolution occurred in France, Genet was recalled, his doings disavowed, and CLARKE's commission annulled. Thus terminated his public career. In place of the observations to which we should be led by the varied incidents of the previous narrative, we subjoin the following extract from Judge Hall's Sketches of the West, as furnishing an appropriate commentary on the instability of fortune and the vanity of ambition.

"When General GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE, the Hannibal of the west, captured Kaskaskia, he made his head-quarters at the house of a Mr. Michel A——, one of the wealthiest inhabitants. Michel lived in a capital French house, enveloped with piazzas and surrounded by gardens—all in the most approved style. He was a merry, contented, happy man; abounding in good living and good stories, and as hospitable as any gentleman whatever. The General remained his guest some time, treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and took leave of Mr. A—— with a high respect for his character and a grateful sense of his warm-hearted hospitality. Years rolled

away; the General had retired from public life, and was dwelling in a humble log-house in Indiana, a disappointed man. His brilliant services had not been appreciated by his country; his political prospects had been blighted; he was unemployed and unhappy—a proud man, conscious of merit, pining away his life in obscurity. One day, as he strolled along the banks of the Ohio, he espied a circle of French boatmen, the crew of a barge, who were seated round a fire on the beach, smoking their pipes and singing their merry French songs. One voice arrested his ear—it was that of his old friend Michel; he could not mistake the blithe tones, and ever buoyant humor, of his former host. He approached, and there sat Michel in the garb of a boatman, with a red cap on his head, the merriest of the circle. They recognised each other instantly. Michel was glad to see the General, and invited him to take a seat on the log beside him with as much unembarrassed hospitality as if he had still been in his spacious house, surrounded by his train of servants. He had suddenly been reduced from affluence to poverty—from a prosperous gentleman, who lived comfortably on his estate, to a boatman—the cook, if we mistake not, of a barge. Although a man of vivacity and strong mind, he was illiterate and unsuspecting. The change of government had brought in new laws, new customs, and keener speculators than the honest French had been accustomed to deal with, and Michel was ruined. But he was as happy as ever; while his friend, the General, whose change of circumstances had not been so sudden or complete, was a moody, discontented man. Such is the diversity of national character."

General CLARKE never was married. He was long in infirm health, and was severely afflicted with a rheumatic affection, which terminated in paralysis, and deprived him of the use of one limb. After suffering under this disease for several years, it finally caused his death in February 1818. He died and was buried at Locust Grove, near Louisville, Kentucky. J. H.

W. Biddle

NICHOLAS BIDDLE.

THERE is one species of ancestral pride which the sternest republicanism, in its most jealous mood, regards with favor. We refer to that spirit which, in Rome, devoted particular families, through many generations, to the republic, and which impelled the second Brutus, after the lapse of centuries, to emulate the glory of the first. The heritage which consists in hoarded examples of lofty patriotism inspires every motive to excellence. Its only privilege is the necessity of extraordinary exertion and superior worth; and, while it borrows from affection, emulation, and pride, the strongest stimulants to virtuous action, it surrounds those who are subject to it by all the influences which enlarge and fortify the moral and intellectual character. Few men, in any country, have been, from birth, association, and education, more exposed to these kindling and patriotic influences than the subject of this brief memoir. His ancestors came to the country with William Penn, and participated in all the privations of the early settlers. Through the long series of contentions between the people of the province and the proprietary government, they were ranged on the side of the people; and when the war of the Revolution broke out, the whole family was distinguished in its zealous and heroic espousal of the cause of independence. Then, as in the late war, the entire family was given to the country, and its members were signalized by their services in the council, in the field, and on the wave. Charles Biddle, the father of NICHOLAS BIDDLE, was, throughout the contest, eminent for his active services and firm devotion to the cause; and, at the time of the birth of the latter, was vice-president of the commonwealth, of which Benjamin Franklin was president, and, we believe, John Armstrong, late minister to France, secretary; a fact which sufficiently indicates the high place which he had secured in the confidence and respect of his country. The following passage of a familiar and private letter from Charles Biddle, to be

found in the second volume of Davis' Life of Burr, gives an interesting anecdote of the times, and exhibits the heroism and patriotic devotion which inspired even the females of the family. "I remember," says Charles Biddle, "just before the commencement of the revolutionary war, my mother was disputing with an English officer. He said the Americans, of right, should not go to war; they could do nothing; they could get no person to head them. She replied that the Americans would have no difficulty in finding some person to command their army; that she had seven sons, and, if necessary, *would lead them herself* to oppose the enemy. *Two* of her sons fell during the war in the service of the country. I, too, have seven sons whom I would much sooner lead to the field than suffer our country to be insulted." The patriotic aspirations of the father were not disappointed, for he did live to see that when their insulted country called upon his sons, *every one of the seven* was found at his post.

Edward Biddle, uncle of the subject of this notice, served as a captain in the sanguinary war of 1756. He, too, was among the foremost advocates of independence, and was elected a representative from Pennsylvania to the congress of 1774. He was afterwards speaker of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania; but the decline of his health rendered a residence in the South necessary, and on his way thither, death closed a career honorable to himself and to his country. Nicholas Biddle, another uncle, was a midshipman in the British navy, and accompanied Lord Mulgrave in his expedition to the North Pole. But, with the characteristic spirit of the family, when the revolutionary struggle commenced, he broke through the influence of professional association, and abandoned the brilliant promises of the British service to share the doubtful fortunes of his country. He entered the American navy, and the government, discerning his merit, gave him all that he required—the opportunity to win distinction. His brief career is interwoven with one of the proudest incidents of our history, and while the American navy floats upon the wave will be remembered by the nation with wonder and exultation. While commanding the American frigate Randolph of thirty-two guns, he attacked, in the night, the Yarmouth, a British sixty-four gun ship. He was wounded early in the action, but refusing to go below had a chair placed on the quarter deck, from which, with undaunted spirit, he directed the engagement; when, in the midst of it, from some accident in the magazine of the Randolph herself, she blew up, and all the officers

and crew, except three men, perished. Nothing could be more glorious than such a life—but such a death.

Nicholas Biddle, was born at Philadelphia, on the 8th day of January, 1786. He began his education at the academy, whence he was introduced to the University of Pennsylvania, and passing through its successive probations, was about to take his degree in 1799, when his extreme youth, being then only thirteen years of age, occasioned his being sent to Princeton, in New Jersey. He is described by those who knew him at this period, as a thoughtful and severe student and a youth of dauntless and indomitable spirit. A classmate and companion, since a distinguished citizen, says of Mr. B., "I enjoyed an intimacy with him at that time, which gave me full opportunity of forming a judgment of his abilities, and I have a distinct recollection of having made up my mind that he was destined to be a great man."

Young Biddle remained at Princeton two years and a half, and graduated in September, 1801. His collegiate course was brilliant almost beyond parallel, and prepared those who witnessed it, comprising several who have since become ornaments of the republic, for the subsequent and loftier triumphs of his intellect. His standing and scholarship are shown by the fact that, though the youngest person, it is understood, that ever graduated before or since that time in the college, he and Mr. Edward Watts of Virginia, a gentleman very much his senior, divided the first honor of the class, the valedictory being assigned to Mr. Biddle.

On leaving college, he commenced the study of the law in Philadelphia. About this time his abilities attracted the attention and excited the admiration of one of the most remarkable judges of human nature which our country has afforded, Colonel Burr, who predicted for him a career of eminent usefulness and honor. In a letter written, on the eve of his meeting with Hamilton, to his son-in-law, Governor Alston, and containing what were supposed to be his last injunctions, the following singular and prophetic passage occurs: "My worthy friend, Charles Biddle of Philadelphia, has six or seven sons—three of them grown up. With different characters and various degrees of intelligence, they will all be men of eminence and of influence."

When the three years of Mr. Biddle's term of study were about to expire, General Armstrong was appointed minister of the United States to France, and offered to take the son of his old friend with him as secretary. He accordingly embarked in the year 1804, and

spent the three succeeding years in Europe. The period of his residence in France was one of extraordinary interest, not merely from its embracing the career of Napoleon from his coronation, but from the complicated relations between the United States and France, and especially from the examination and payment in detail of the claims of this country on France, which were paid out of the purchase money for Louisiana. This duty devolved almost exclusively upon the young secretary. The payments were made at the French bureau, and Mr. BIDDLE, with untiring assiduity, attended to the disbursement. The officers of the French government are mostly gentlemen of ripe years; Mr. BIDDLE, then about eighteen, was even more juvenile in appearance than years, and the advent among these grave dignitaries of this youthful depository of so important a trust was viewed with a wonder that was increased when they found him performing his arduous duties with the ability, firmness, and perseverance of a veteran statesman. Notwithstanding the severe labors of his office, Mr. BIDDLE found time to indulge a liberal curiosity in regard to all the great objects before him, and also to attend the scientific lectures so frequent and accessible in Paris. After leaving the legation he travelled through the greater part of France, through Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. He then went to England, where he joined the late president Monroe, then American minister in London, with whom he served as secretary, Mr. Monroe's own secretary being absent. During his residence in England, an incident occurred which Mr. Monroe took great pleasure in relating, as an illustration of the ripe scholarship of his youthful secretary and friend. Mr. BIDDLE accompanied him to Cambridge, where, in a company at which the most learned gentlemen connected with the university were present, a discussion took place on some philological point arising from the difference between the Greek of Homer and the idiom of the modern Hellenes. Though familiar with the language of Homer, the literati present knew but little of the modern Greek, and the difficulty remained unsolved; when Mr. BIDDLE, who united to his classic accomplishments a knowledge of the tongue of modern Greece acquired when in that country, joined the conversation and explained the point, exhibiting a knowledge of the subject so profound and critical, that the learned gentlemen present listened in silent amazement, while Monroe, overjoyed at what he considered a kind of American triumph, with difficulty repressed his exultation and delight.

Mr. Biddle returned home in the autumn of 1807. During his long absence, he had seen much of men and things, and seen them in a way the most profitable. The ordinary routine of what is called travelling, the indiscriminate hurrying after objects of mere curiosity, though pleasant while it lasts, is not often productive of good to young persons. Mr. Biddle had a point of support, an object, an employment, and that employment was in the service of his country. Nothing so effectually subdues the spirit of party and removes the prejudice which confines the anxieties of patriotism to one-half the country, as a residence abroad in a public character; a position that identifies the individual with the whole nation. It is, perhaps, this experience that has given to Mr. Biddle's mind a character so wholly national, for few men have brought into the public councils a spirit more expanded, a patriotism more comprehensive or more free from all tincture of local or sectional feeling.

On his return he commenced the practice of the law. In the fragments of time saved from more severe pursuits, he occasionally relaxed his mind in contributions to the scientific and literary periodicals of the day. His efforts were as diversified as literature itself, and exhibit that elasticity of mind and versatility of genius which have rendered his various subsequent productions so successful. His disquisitions on the Fine Arts, published about this time, displayed a profound knowledge of the subject, and acquired a reputation which no one who now peruses them will consider unmerited. His writings at this period are graceful and polished. Indeed, several of these early efforts have been, and are even now, ascribed to the elegant Dennie; but his articles manifest an originality and vigor, a reach of thought and a variety of acquirement which Dennie did not possess. Their mutual friendship induced them to form a literary partnership for conducting the Port Folio. The death, however, of Mr. Dennie, which occurred soon after the association was formed, removed its principal attraction; but Mr. Biddle continued to conduct it alone for some time, until another editor was procured. Of the merits of the Port Folio, it is unnecessary to speak; it now constitutes a part of the literature of the country—a part that will not be discredited by a comparison with any thing that has since been given to the public. About this period, Lewis and Clarke were preparing for publication the history of their expedition across the continent of America; but the premature death of Lewis induced his companion, Clarke, to solicit Mr. Biddle to edit the work. He accordingly went carefully over the materials

for which he has manifested, throughout life, a decided predilection. These pursuits were, however, soon interrupted by the events of the war, which summoned into action the best spirits of the nation. In the year 1814, the situation of the country was extremely critical. The capitol had been destroyed, the whole south was menaced by a flushed and insolent foe, the finances were in extreme disorder, and every thing indicated despondency and distress. These were not times when a Biddle could enjoy retirement and inaction. He was elected to represent the city and county of Philadelphia in the senate of Pennsylvania, by a vote considerably beyond that of any party for the legislature or congress. Of the spirit which he carried into the public councils, some idea may be formed from the fact, that of the seven brothers composing his family, one was an officer in the navy, (Commodore James Biddle,) two were in the regular army, and three were volunteers in active service in the militia, while he, the seventh, was in the senate. As soon as it was apparent that no reliance could be placed on congress, he came forward in the senate with his own plans of defence. "It is now," said he, "nearly four months since the eyes of this nation have anxiously watched the movements of congress. They found the capitol in ruins—the finances prostrate—the army, in every thing but its honor, a shadow—the whole coast menaced with invasion—no hopes of peace but by the sword. These things might have kindled into energy the dullest statesman; yet day after day has been wasted in frivolous debate or bitter controversies—and now neither men nor money, nor preparations for defence, nor means of carrying on the war, seem to be expected from that congress which was convened for the express purpose of providing them. It is time, therefore, for Pennsylvania to defend herself, to indulge no longer in this fatal confidence, but at once look all our dangers in the face and prepare to repel them."

He then presented a system which consisted of a bounty for sailors to man the floating batteries for the defence of Philadelphia, the purchase of arms, the levy of a permanent military force of eight thousand men, and a loan on the credit of the state to defray the expense of these measures. All these provisions were adopted by the senate; but, in the house of representatives, the army bill was lost from a difference of opinion as to the mode of raising the necessary force. It was immediately revived in the senate, and that body was actually engaged in discussing it, when the debate was suddenly terminated by the arrival of the glad tidings that the war was

at an end. All the measures for the defence of Pennsylvania were proposed by Mr. Biddle; and those who witnessed the crisis will not forget the patriotic energy with which he met the emergency.

The return of peace left to the legislature only one duty to the other states, that of quieting the political distractions which had grown out of the war. In the midst of that conflict, the New England states, chafed by what they deemed wrongs to their peculiar interests, met in convention at Hartford and proposed to all the other states radical changes in the constitution of the union. This abandonment of their own work, this declaration of the weakness and insufficiency of that constitution which these New England states had been the foremost to adopt, was of such evil example, that it was justly deemed of great importance to counteract its influence. The other states had given cold or contumelious negatives to this proposal, calculated only to harden the prejudices they could not subdue. It was thought far better to address the reason of the country, to interpose between the combatants the quiet energy of Pennsylvania, which had no object to gain but the general good of the union, and endeavor to satisfy the country that the constitution was not the weak and impotent federation which these reformers pronounced it, but that it was a just and generous compact which could be only injured by the proposed attempts to improve it. For this purpose Mr. Biddle prepared, and the legislature adopted, a report which was considered as the answer of Pennsylvania to the Hartford convention. This production was worthy the occasion and the exalted purpose for which it was intended. It bears the impress of genius, and stamps its author as a statesman. The report did not fail to produce a deep impression not only in this country but abroad, as being not merely a refutation of the proposed amendments, but a thorough and masterly vindication of the institutions of the United States. One of the most distinguished political writers of England said of it on its first appearance: "With the exception of the poems of Pope, I never read any thing of which I should so much like to have been the author as this answer of the state of Pennsylvania. Let any man read this paper penned in one of the state legislatures of America, and when he has compared it with the state papers of our ambassadors and ministers, let him say whether aristocracy has reserved itself a monopoly of talent." Mr. Biddle's report unquestionably does honor to his native state, and may be regarded as one of the very best state papers which the political controversies of our country have elicited. Even at this day, it may

be read with profit and interest, as presenting views of public policy applicable to many of the political questions now agitating us.

In the year 1817, Mr. Biddle, after a legislative career which exhibited a brilliant genius joined with an ardent devotion to the public good, and which secured him the confidence of all parties, voluntarily retired from the senate before the expiration of his term of service, and resumed his private pursuits. He now devoted himself with uninterrupted ardor to the studies from which his public duties had partially alienated him. Despising the arts by which demagogues urge themselves upon a reluctant people, he rather shunned than courted political distinction. His distinguished merit, however, could not be overlooked, and at the succeeding election, 1818, he was nominated to represent the city and county of Philadelphia in congress; but the democratic party, of which he was a candidate, was then in a minority, and although he received a larger number of votes than any other candidate on the same ticket, the adverse party prevailed. At the next congressional election in 1820, he was again nominated, by the same political party, but with the same result, Mr. B. again receiving a larger vote than any of his colleagues on the same ticket.

In the year 1819, he first became connected with the bank of the United States, an incident which contributed to give a direction to his subsequent career, and secured to the country the aid of his extraordinary abilities in the important field of finance. The institution was at that time justly considered in great jeopardy. Its affairs had been investigated by a committee of congress, and the report of that committee tended to inspire distrust and apprehension. To add to these difficulties, its president had resigned; and the position and prospects of the bank became so critical, that the most vigorous exertions were deemed necessary to revive the public confidence. For this purpose, president Monroe, without the knowledge of Mr. Biddle, nominated him as a director of the bank on the part of the United States. This mark of confidence was not only unexpected, but unwelcome to Mr. B., for he had previously declined being a director on the part of the stockholders; but thus summoned, by the national executive, to what had become a serious and important trust, he did not feel himself at liberty to decline the task. He accordingly took his place in the bank at the same time that Mr. Langdon Cheves, who had been previously elected president, assumed the duties of his station. In conjunction with that gentleman he labored with great industry in arranging the affairs and esta

blishing the character of the institution, and, having no special employment at the time, was enabled to turn into that channel the almost undivided energies of his mind.

An active intellect, however, has, even amid the most engrossing labors, leisure for incidental duties. Mr. BIDDLE's energetic habits enabled him, at the request of Mr. Monroe, to undertake and accomplish a work for which his varied acquirements peculiarly qualified him. By a resolution of congress, the department of state was authorized to collect the laws and regulations of all foreign countries relative to commerce, moneys, weights, and measures, and the various objects connected with trade. The duty was committed by the president to Mr. BIDDLE, who analyzed and digested, with great ability, a large mass of crude materials in various languages, into an octavo volume entitled "*Commercial Digest.*"

In the year 1821, he removed permanently to his farm in Bucks county. While residing there, the resignation of Mr. Cheves as president of the United States Bank occasioned a general convention at Philadelphia of all the stockholders of the bank throughout the United States. The selection of a successor was regarded as a matter of great delicacy and importance, not merely in relation to the interests of the institution itself, but from its influence upon the credit and commercial prosperity of the country at large. The subject was, therefore, anxiously canvassed as well in the public prints as among the stockholders. The station called for commanding abilities, a genius practical, fertile in resources, profoundly skilled in finance, and versed in all the comprehensive and diversified interests connected with trade. Public opinion pointed to Mr. BIDDLE as preëminently fitted for the arduous and momentous trust, and he was accordingly invited to accept the presidency. The result elicited general applause, and the government manifested its approbation of the choice by appointing Mr. B. a director on the part of the United States. He entered upon the duties of the office in January, 1823. His previous service of three years in the bank had made him familiar with its concerns, and had given him some peculiar views of its administration, which he now proceeded gradually and cautiously to develope. The details of this subject belong to history, and cannot, of course, be given in the present brief and hurried notice; but the general purpose of the change of system may be made intelligible in a few words. By the charter of the bank, all its notes were made receivable in all payments to the government. It was objected that as these notes were payable in so many

places, provision must be made to pay them in those places, so that a greater amount of specie must be kept in reserve than the amount of notes in circulation. Application was made to congress to alter the charter so as to make the notes payable only where they were issued, and it was declared by the bank to congress, that unless the change were made, the bank would be not only useless but injurious. With this view of the subject, there could, of course, be no general circulation of its notes, no regulation of the domestic exchanges—the whole amount of notes on the first of January, 1823, being about three and a half millions of dollars, and the amount of domestic bills on hand less than two millions of dollars.

With these opinions Mr. BIDDLE did not at all concur. He thought that the universal receivability of the notes, so far from being injurious, was highly beneficial to the bank and to the country; and that there was no danger of issuing the notes, if the branches issuing them were careful to provide funds for their redemption at the points to which the well known course of trade would necessarily carry them. He considered this very provision beneficial in another point of view; he believed that it would enable the bank, by the policy just mentioned, to regulate the domestic exchanges and effect the great object of its creation. Having matured the project in his own mind, he proceeded to carry it out. Years of patient and anxious labor, directed by the most vigilant sagacity, were necessary to bring all the parts of this original and admirable system into full action. That consummation was, however, at last attained, when, as in 1835, there had been established nine new branches, making the whole consist of the bank at Philadelphia and *twenty-five branches;* sustaining a wholesome circulation of twenty-four millions, based on twenty-four millions of current bills of exchange, with fifteen or sixteen millions of specie.

The change thus gradually and quietly effected, was regarded throughout the world as one of the miracles of genius. It brightened the aspect of the whole country, and inspired health and animation in all the various pursuits of trade and industry. The effect of Mr. BIDDLE's system is thus explained by the report of the committee of ways and means of the house of representatives: "It may be confidently asserted that no country in the world has a currency of greater uniformity than the United States, and that no country of any thing like the same geographical extent, has a currency at all comparable to that of the United States on the score of uniformity;" and again: "It has actually furnished a circulating medium more

uniform than specie." The committee of finance of the senate characterized with equal force the success of Mr. BIDDLE's administration. "This seems to present a state of currency approaching as near to perfection as could be desired;" and again; "It is not easy to imagine, it is scarcely necessary to desire, any currency better than this."

During the whole of this period, the bank was an object of universal and deserved popularity. Applications were constantly made for the establishment of its branches in every section of the country. The institution was in perfect harmony with the administrations of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams, and pursued its noiseless career of usefulness, praised and cherished by all classes and parties. Perhaps not an individual in the country dreamed that it would or could be made the subject of opposition.

It was during this career that General Jackson came into power. One of the first measures of his administration was believed to be an effort to connect the bank with his political support. The attempt was full of danger to the country, and had the administration of the bank been in feeble or corrupt hands would doubtless have succeeded. It was, however, immediately and decisively repelled: but from that moment a war was waged against the institution, which in intense exasperation can scarcely find a parallel in the history of civil dissension. Our limits will not permit us even to refer to the details of that interesting struggle; our present purpose is to exhibit its effect upon the character of the president of the bank. The position and popularity of the high functionary who decreed the downfall of the institution were certainly formidable; but it was in the hands of one adequate to any emergency. Mr. BIDDLE owed it to his country and to the institution over which he presided to uphold it, and he did so; not passively or with indecision, but with determined and active vigor. He manifested throughout the series of extraordinary events which succeeded, a firmness that never was shaken and a calmness that nothing could ruffle. His skilful pilotage of the institution through that storm displayed a mind rich in all that the crisis demanded; composed, but ardent; prompt, but profound; a genius so bold and comprehensive, a knowledge so vast, an experience so complete, a fertility of resources so ready and inexhaustible, that we cannot be surprised at the admiration which it everywhere inspired. The odds were all against him in the contest, yet he was never found wanting, and never placed in the wrong. His course won the applause of the

first spirits of the age in this country and Europe, and secured him the confidence and gratitude not only of his constituents of the bank, but of the business community at large.

On the removal of the deposits, and at every subsequent act of hostility, it was exultingly proclaimed, that the ruin of the bank was at length accomplished; yet, to the last hour of its chartered existence, it maintained a credit coëxtensive with the commercial world, and a prosperity that was tested, not shaken by assaults. "At this moment," said Mr. Edward Everett, in a report to the house of representatives, "notwithstanding the fearful warfare waged against them, their credit is as good at London and in Paris, as that of the Bank of England or France. At this moment, in the remotest east, in the markets of China, where the silver coin of the country from the public mint is undervalued, the paper of the Bank of the United States is an acceptable currency." The finance committee of the United States Senate thus stated facts which did not admit of denial: "The efforts continually made to excite doubts and suspicions in the public mind as to the entire solvency of the bank; the concerted run made against the Lexington branch in 1832; the constant agitation of the public mind for some months anterior to the 1st of October, 1832; the actual withdrawal of the public moneys from the custody of the institution; the uncertainty which has since involved measures which the executive might adopt against it; the declaration of Mr. Duane that the administrative department was actuated, in all its measures towards it, by a spirit of 'vindictiveness;' and the circumstances of the times: it may be said, with every confidence, in the truth of the declaration, that tests of the most severe and of every conceivable kind have been applied to ascertain its solvency. Whether any other moneyed corporation in the world could have stood up against trials so severe, is in the highest degree questionable. How deeply rooted, then, must be the public confidence in the solvency of the United States Bank, and in the skill with which its affairs have been conducted, when the doubts and suspicions of the government itself, a partner in the concern, followed up by the most hostile action, has not only not shaken the confidence of the public in its responsibility, but when its notes are now as eagerly sought after as at any former period of its existence."

A credit thus universal, maintained under circumstances so unprecedented, with a currency and exchanges in soundness and equal value never any where exceeded, were proofs of ability that raised Mr. Biddle's reputation to the very summit of financial renown. Ex-

tolled as almost infallible by one political party, assailed by the other with a zeal that equally contributed to his celebrity—the limits of his own country did not confine his fame; and abroad, as well as at home, he was hailed as the most sagacious and successful banker of the world. But the useful career of the institution over which he had so long presided, was drawing to a close. A bill for its recharter passed both houses of congress by a large majority, but was vetoed by the president, General Jackson. The charter expired, therefore, according to its limitation, on the 3d day of March, 1836.

It has sometimes been asserted that the bill for the recharter of the bank would have met a different reception from the president, if it had been presented to his consideration at a later period of his term of office; but, certainly, the warmest supporters of the bank did not entertain that belief, nor do we find anything to countenance it in the character or recorded opinions of General Jackson. Before his inauguration, he had announced the destruction of the Bank of the United States, as one of the intended measures of his administration. "His intention," says Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, in his Historical Sketch, "was to proclaim his determination in his inaugural address; but from that he was dissuaded by friends, who convinced him that, inasmuch as the bank charter was a legislative act, his first notice of it ought to be in a message to congress." Accordingly, in his first message, in 1829, the subject was introduced, with the declaration "that it could not too soon be presented to their deliberation." It was again brought forward in the successive messages of 1830 and 1831, coupled always with the most unequivocal expression of his own hostility. It is therefore difficult to find any ground for the assertion, that the friends of the bank precipitated the contest in 1832, or that any delay would have mitigated or avoided it; while the certainty of a majority in congress in favor of the recharter, and the possibility of two-thirds in case of a veto; the general belief that a democratic president would not exercise this power in opposition to the express will of the representatives of the people, vindicate the application for recharter as seasonable, and subsequent events amply proved that it never would have been more fortunate.

Until the time when General Jackson drew the bank into the arena of political controversy, it had been the sedulous and successful effort of Mr. Biddle to keep the institution entirely clear from political associations, and free from any subserviency to party purposes. The officers of the bank and its branches, while left, of course, to the free enjoyment of their rights as citizens, were strictly restrained from

adding any official weight to their personal predilections. No party test was ever recognized as a qualification for employment in the bank, and when, in 1829, Mr. BIDDLE refused, at the demand of the friends of General Jackson, to remove Jeremiah Mason, an upright and competent officer of the branch in New Hampshire, it was in accordance with a uniform rule of action, which he had maintained in 1824, in opposition to the intimated wish of his personal and political friend, Mr. Monroe.

Ending here this brief and inadequate notice of the last bank of the United States, in continuing the personal history of the subject of this memoir, we must now advert to his subsequent connection with another institution, like the first in name, but unlike in the origin and nature of its powers, and still more unlike in the issue in which their exercise resulted. This ill-fated institution was created by an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania, approved the 18th day of February, 1836, entitled "An act to repeal the state tax on real and personal property, and to continue and extend the improvements of the state by rail roads and canals, *and to charter a State Bank, to be called the United States Bank.*" The motives and circumstances which induced this act of legislation are easily traced. The location of the parent bank of the United States in Philadelphia, had long been the subject of state pride; the feeling was similar to, but far more intense than that which now resists the removal of the United States Mint from the city. The renewal of the charter by the Federal government had been urged by the legislature, and advocated by the most distinguished citizens of the state, without distinction of party. In 1832, resolutions in its favor passed the state senate unanimously, and the house of representatives by a vote of seventy-seven to seven. As the time approached, when the millions invested in the bank by the citizens of other states and foreign countries, were about to be withdrawn, an ardent, an almost feverish desire inflamed the public mind, to grasp a supposed advantage in retaining this capital within the state.

By the legislature, in one branch of which the democratic party was largely in the majority, a charter was tendered to the stockholders of the expiring Bank of the United States. "Almost every body seemed in favor of it," said a senator, afterwards examined upon the subject, under oath. Such opposition as party allegiance could enforce was made to the bill, but, as is so often the case in legislative bodies, the object of most of the opponents was to range themselves in a harmless minority, exhibiting a show of resistance to what they had no desire to defeat.

To the head of the new institution Mr. BIDDLE was summoned by the

universal and importunate call of those whose interests were involved in its success. His own wish, publicly expressed, had been to withdraw from the arduous duties which had affected his health, and entirely engrossed his time and faculties. He had reaped all the fame that could be gathered in that field; other pursuits—perhaps more congenial—were open to him; his private means, by inheritance and marriage, far exceeded his moderate wishes: it was well known, in the circle of his friends, that what he most desired was a fit opportunity to retire. But, in the opinion of others, that fit opportunity had not yet arrived; the skill of "the pilot who had weathered the storm," in the direction of the old bank, was necessary to the auspicious inauguration of the new; yielding to these considerations, Mr. BIDDLE accepted the presidency. Nor, to a mind like his, was it without attraction. He was of that large mould, that has room for great aims and strong affections. A master feeling of his nature was a deep love for his native state; what South Carolina was to Calhoun, what Massachusetts was to Webster, Pennsylvania was to NICHOLAS BIDDLE—and in the new bank he, and most men, thought they saw an engine that was to raise the state to the highest pinnacle of wealth and power; and while large and lasting triumphs were thus anticipated, the institution was, even by the less sanguine, regarded as the sole protection of the state from the dwarfing influences attendant upon a removal of the financial centre of the country to another city. He continued to hold the office until March, 1839, when he effected his intention of resigning it. It was made to appear very clearly, in subsequent discussions, that the time chosen by him for his withdrawal was, in the opinion of the directors, the stockholders, the public and of himself, a period of entire prosperity. He had borne the bank safely through the monetary convulsion of 1837; the suspension of specie payments in that year, commenced by the deposit banks of the government in New York, had not impaired the credit of the banks of Pennsylvania, and the resumption in 1838, at the time dictated by Mr. BIDDLE, with great firmness and sagacity, had every guaranty of permanence. The warfare waged by the most formidable antagonist was over; the bank had again become, in effect, if not in name, to a very considerable extent the fiscal agent of the government. Millions of the public money were on deposit in its vaults, disbursements were made by it for the treasury throughout the Union, and a circular from the paymaster general, issued under the authority of a democratic secretary of war, in the following explicit language recognized the fact, that the notes of the bank were often preferable to specie.

CIRCULAR.

"PAYMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, October 8, 1838.

"SIR,

"Arrangements having been made with the United States Bank to pay the treasurer's drafts for a certain amount at different places, and it being probable the notes of the bank will be as acceptable to claimants, and in some cases more convenient than specie, you will, should you receive drafts on that bank or its agents, make as many of your payments by check as you can, which will give the receiver the option of taking paper or specie; and the department has no objection to your using the paper of that bank in all your payments, so far as it can be done legally.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"N. TOWSON,
"P. M. G."

Under these favorable circumstances, the stock of the bank at the time of Mr. BIDDLE's retirement was selling at $116 a share, and the directors in a complimentary communication assured him that he left the institution "entirely prosperous." But two years elapsed, however, before the bank ceased its operations, assigned its assets, and was declared to be insolvent. Our limits do not permit us to attempt any elaborate discussion of the causes which induced so disastrous a result. Some of them were general, affecting the whole country, and some were particular to the institution itself. The "State Bank, called the United States Bank," began and ended its career in a period of general expansion, overtrading, and overbanking. When the destruction of the Bank of the United States was decreed, it was a system of state banks, not a specie currency, that was put forward as the efficient substitute. To the state banks the public treasure was confided, and they were made the subjects of continued favor and laudation from the president in his messages, the secretary of the treasury in his reports, and the party presses that echoed the sentiments of the party leaders. The Globe, the official organ at Washington, teemed with appeals to the state legislatures to create more banks, and any tardiness in compliance was charged—as every thing, almost, in those days was charged—to the malign influence of "Biddle and the United States Bank." "The state banks," said General Jackson, "are found fully adequate to the performance of all services required of the Bank of the United States, quite as promptly and with the same cheapness." "By the use of the state banks," he repeats in a subsequent message, "it is ascertained that the moneys of the United States can be collected and disbursed without loss or inconvenience, and that all the wants of the community in relation to exchange and currency are supplied as well as they have ever been before." Further experience awakened General Jackson from this

delusion, and then his anathema against state banks was as violent as any he had ever fulminated against the Bank of the United States. But it was too late; the mischief was already done. Under such vigorous stimulus, the number of banks had been more than doubled; the amount of what was termed "banking capital" more than trebled; the notes of banks in circulation rose from 61,000,000 to 185,000,000 of dollars; loans and discounts were increased proportionally. The restraining influence once exercised by the Bank of the United States was scoffed at as an odious and obsolete oppression; and President Jackson, in an annual message, congratulated the state banks on the extinction of their former "enemy." State governments, too, caught the general contagion, and issued bonds, contracted debts, and entered upon vast schemes of lavish expenditure. In vain were warning voices raised. Daniel Webster declared in the senate, "We are in danger of being overwhelmed with irredeemable paper, mere paper, not representing gold and silver; no, representing nothing but broken promises, bad faith, bankrupt corporations, cheated creditors, and a ruined people." Henry Clay predicted, that "There being no longer any sentinel at the head of our banking establishments to warn them by its information and operation of approaching danger, the local institutions, already multiplied to an alarming extent, and almost daily multiplying, in seasons of prosperity will make free and unrestrained emissions. . . . Inordinate speculation will ensue, debts will be freely contracted, and the explosion of the whole banking system will be the ultimate effect." We recur, now, to these events, and the authors of them, not in a captious spirit of censure, but in justice to one upon whom it was afterwards sought to charge the consequences of a system which he always combatted, against which he openly protested,—the very opposite of that established and perfected by his efforts, under which the country so long enjoyed a sound and uniform currency, based upon, and always convertible into gold and silver.

In the perilous condition of things, to which we have adverted, the United States Bank of Pennsylvania had even more danger to encounter than other state institutions. Its unwieldy capital was forced to seek investment in every part of the country—in stocks, loans, bonds, and like securities, which, when the crash came, went down, and carried the bank down with them. Whether its fate could have been averted by Mr. Biddle, if he had continued in the direction of its affairs, we do not undertake to decide. He had never been found unequal to any crisis; and his tact, and skill, and fertility in resources, might have warded off some of the blows that proved most fatal. Assuredly,

under his administration, no neglect of the routine of business would ever have shaken the credit of the bank abroad—no want of resolution would ever have precipitated its measures at home. That his efforts would have availed in the later, as they had in the former trials of the bank, can neither be certainly asserted or denied. Speculation upon what might have happened, if events had been other than they were, is mostly very fruitless. When the "general explosion" came—as Henry Clay and others foretold it would come—in the distress, and consequent exasperation, which ensued, it was easier, perhaps more natural, to immolate an individual, than to trace effects to their original causes. It fell to the lot of NICHOLAS BIDDLE—the foremost man of all in the public mind, in association with banks and banking—to be the expiatory victim. Men who fully shared in any errors into which he had fallen, strove to avert responsibility from themselves by heaping it upon him. A general storm of malignant persecution was directed against one man, broken in health and fortune, and deserted by the summer friends who had basked in the sunshine of his prosperity. Mr. BIDDLE faced his assailants, with the firmness and composure that strongly marked his character. Shrinking from no investigation, deprecating no assault, he gave his vindication to the world in a series of letters which, as specimens of controversial writing, have never been surpassed; and then he waited, without fear, for time to do him justice. Time will not fail him: and even now, whenever Pennsylvanians meet together to further the progress of education, the advancement of the useful arts, the improvement of their native state,—the name of NICHOLAS BIDDLE, by a natural association, rises to the lips, and its utterance is the best tribute to his memory.

"Sir," said General Packer, a leading democrat of Pennsylvania, in a recent speech in favor of connecting the seaboard with the lakes, "Sir, this was the favorite project of the late NICHOLAS BIDDLE; and whatever may be said of him as a politician or a financier, all agree that on questions of internal improvement and commerce he was one of the most sagacious and far-seeing statesmen of this Union. His fault was, if fault it be, that he was twenty years in advance of the age in which he lived. His towering mind enabled him, afar off, to

> 'See the tops of distant thoughts,
> That men of common stature could not see.'

Had he lived, and maintained the strong hold which he once had on the affections of Philadelphia, that city would long since have been placed, in relation to the trade I have attempted to describe, where

New York and Boston now are." But he who waits for time to do him justice should be long lived, and the days of NICHOLAS BIDDLE were already numbered. In the very height of the crusade against him, a fatal disease developed itself in his system. A train of symptoms told that the heart was the seat of a serious disorder, upon which, in its later stages, dropsy supervened. His physicians prescribed an immediate removal to another climate—meaning, doubtless, a removal from the scene of trial and excitement—under penalty of death. To his principal adviser, he replied, simply, but with a pathos that moved one not of the melting mood, "I will die here." He abstained from no duty or engagement; wrote, spoke in public, did not claim the privilege or bear the port of an invalid. His letters on the state debt, written upon the non-payment of the interest, were full of wise suggestions, and of stirring appeals that found an echo in the breast of every true son of Pennsylvania. In all public events he took an unabated interest. In a letter lately published, ex-president Tyler says, in speaking of the annexation of Texas, "I was myself sustained and encouraged by the opinions of other distinguished citizens, among whom I take pleasure in mentioning the name of one who once would have commanded the respect, if not the confidence of thousands, but who at the time rested under a cloud, and spoke to me from the shades of Andalusia—I mean the late NICHOLAS BIDDLE, with whom I differed so widely on the subject of the Bank of the United States. His bright and accomplished mind did not fail to embrace in its full extent the value of the virtual monopoly of the cotton plant, secured to the United States by the acquisition of Texas." But the sword wore out the sheath. From the nature of Mr. BIDDLE's malady, death impended every moment. On the evening of the 26th of February, 1844, he for the first time, we have been told by a member of his family, alluded to the expectation which he entertained of a speedy dissolution. The same night a suffusion took place of the vital organ, and he instantly expired. His death occured at Andalusia, a country seat upon the river Delaware, a part of the patrimonial inheritance of his lady, which had long been the scene of the agricultural pursuits and liberal studies which formed the relaxation of his busy life. He was interred in the burial ground of Christ church, and there crowded to his funeral all that Philadelphia could assemble of men distinguished by place or character. The papers of the day record that, in numbers and in mournful interest, the funeral procession exceeded any that had been seen, since that of the venerated patriarch, Bishop White.

The reaction then begun, has not ceased; nor will it, till the name

of NICHOLAS BIDDLE is inscribed high on the list of those who have best loved and served their country.

We shall here close what concerns the public career of Mr. BIDDLE, and, having already transcended our limits, will add only a few words touching those miscellaneous particulars which may interest our readers.

His laborious and engrossing avocations did not prevent him from engaging in other duties, which he found, we can scarcely imagine how, time to fulfil. No measure for the advancement of learning and the arts, no scheme for the public good, no effort of patriotism or humanity, wanted his generous and hearty support. He was an active member of a great number of societies for benevolent and useful purposes. As president of the Agricultural Society of Philadelphia he, by his zeal, practical knowledge, and high example, did much to promote the farming interests of the state. He was himself a successful agriculturist; and the products of his farm in market, as well as the horticultural exhibitions at the city, were for years, objects of curiosity and commendation. As president of the Girard College, his exertions manifested an intense interest in the cause of popular instruction, and contributed mainly to the organization of that noble institution upon safe and expanded principles. To his efforts the country owes one of the most beautiful structures of modern times—the Girard College. Mr. BIDDLE, in the spirit of Pericles, determined that it should be built for posterity. He proposed the present plan, and, in the midst of wild political excitement and opposition, persisted firmly, and secured a building which every citizen now not only approves but applauds. While on this subject we may add, that the building which next to Girard College is perhaps the noblest triumph of architecture in the land, the United States Bank, was also erected under the superintendence of Mr. BIDDLE, as chairman of the building committee of that institution.

In the course of his career, Mr. BIDDLE, on various occasions, appeared before the public as a writer. Though his compositions, with the exception of some juvenile efforts, were extorted from him amid the clash and bustle of laborious and often momentous duties, yet they are such as to inspire a sentiment of regret that he had not been devoted to literature alone. His speeches in the legislature were reprinted and praised in all parts of the Union. His eulogium on Thomas Jefferson, delivered before the Philosophical Society, of which he was a member, is considered the best pronounced on that occasion, though the subject engaged the first intellects of the country. The addresses

on agriculture, delivered by him before the Agricultural Society, unite practical instruction with classic learning and eloquence. His address before the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall is of a still higher order of merit. It points out the public duties of an American, and never were the privileges and responsibilities of a freeman more vividly portrayed. His own lofty and unshackled nature breathes and burns in every period. He enjoins with earnest and kindling eloquence, the learning, labor, and elevation of spirit which honest public life requires, and holds up to scorn the unworthy parasites of the populace. After referring to the patriots of other ages and countries, he says: "Trained by these studies and animated by the habitual contemplation of those who have gone before you, as a true American statesman, you may lay your hand on your country's altar. From that hour, swerved by no sinister purpose, swayed by no selfish motive, your whole heart must be devoted to her happiness and her glory. No country could be worthier a statesman's care. On none has nature lavished more of the materials of happiness and of greatness; as fatal if they are misdirected, as they must be glorious when rightly used. On the American statesman, then, devolves the solemn charge of sustaining its institutions against temporary excesses, either of the people or their rulers; and protecting them from their greatest foes, which will always lie in their own bosom. You can accomplish this only by persevering in your own independence—by doing your duty fearlessly to the country. If you fail to please her, *do not the less serve her, for she is not the less your country.*" Were all our statesmen guided by the following high and heroic principles, our republic would be immortal: "Never let any action of your life be influenced by the desire of obtaining popular applause at the expense of your own sincere and manly convictions. No favor from any sovereign, a single individual, or thirteen millions, can console you for the loss of your own esteem. If they are offended, trust to their returning reason to do you justice, and should that hope fail, where you cannot serve with honor you can retire with dignity. You did not seek power, and you can readily leave it, since you are qualified for retirement, and since you carry into it the proud consolation of having done your duty." Mr. Biddle's style was formed on the purest models. He cultivated with great success the power of saying the most things in the fewest words. Condensation, point, and originality, are his peculiarities. His thoughts do not struggle in a deluge of words, and are not expressed in the swollen diction which he has felicitously characterized as "*our western orientalism.*" His manner, however, is not only classic in its simplicity,

it is breathing and quick with life; his sentences are exquisitely turned, and modulated with a delicate perception of melody.

Though Mr. Biddle, when in public life, won distinction as a speaker, his pursuits for many years withdrew him from the forum. He was, however, called upon, on various occasions, to address large and enlightened audiences, and always with signal success. His elocution was exceedingly graceful and polished. He was free from the extravagances of American oratory, and furnishes a model of strength without violence, and grace devoid of affectation. His diction was fluent, choice, and fervid, and his general style bold and effective. He was, throughout his career, even when most burthened with business, a close student, and preserved, amid all the trials of a working-day life, his early fondness for literature and the fine arts. His manners were easy and polished. His refined taste and accomplished scholarship made him the centre and ornament of the literary circles of the city of his birth; and the fervid kindness of his nature secured the friendship of those whose admiration was first excited by the elegance of his wit and the charms of his social intercourse.

Mr. Biddle was somewhat above the middle stature; his forehead was remarkably high and ample; his eyes were blue and piercing. His countenance did not wear the ascetic cast generally contracted by long-continued and severe mental exertion, but was frank and cheerful, expressive of amiable and generous feeling. There are still extant many busts and paintings of him, of various degrees of merit. The portrait by Rembrandt Peale, from which is taken the engraving prefixed to this notice, is preferred: we would consider ourselves fortunate could we portray with equal fidelity the features of his mind.

Mr. Biddle was married in 1811, to Miss Jane Craig, a lady whose noble qualities made her the ornament of his prosperous, and the consolation of his declining fortunes. She and six children survive him.

The appeal of the subject of this memoir from the hasty and passionate judgment of the hour, to the calmer verdict of later times, has not been made in vain. Retrace the course of his whole life,

> "And judge him by no more than what you know,
> Ingenuously, and by the right laid line
> Of truth, he truly will all styles deserve
> Of wise, just, good; *a man both soul and nerve.*"
>
> R. T. Conrad.

Alexandre Dumas

FELIX GRUNDY.

FELIX GRUNDY was born on the 11th September, 1777, in Berkley county, Virginia. His father was a native of England. He emigrated to America in early life, and settled on the frontier of Virginia, while it was yet a British province, and at that time greatly exposed to Indian depredations. In 1779, he removed from Virginia to Red Stone, Old Fort, on the Monongahela river, in Pennsylvania, the place which at this time bears the name of Brownsville; at this place his eldest son was killed by the Indians. In the following year, 1780, he removed to Kentucky, where FELIX lived from childhood to maturity, and where he imbibed that loftiness of sentiment and independence of character, which so eminently characterizes the people of the western country, and where his youthful mind first received that impetus, which impelled him onward to fortune and to fame.

Kentucky was at that time the seat of the most cruel and sanguinary Indian warfare, which continued with unabated fury, for several years after the revolution. Safety from danger and alarm was long unknown to the regions of the west; and they who were too young to participate in the toils of war, were continually exposed to its most ruthless barbarities, and from their infancy were made familiar with scenes of carnage and devastation. The greatest evils are not often without countervailing benefits. It is, probably, in a great degree owing to this state of things, that Kentucky and Tennessee are indebted for that fearless independence and force of character, which so eminently distinguish their citizens. Mr. GRUNDY's family shared largely in the sufferings of that day. A striking picture of those perilous times is given in his own eloquent language in a speech delivered by him in the senate of the United States, in February, 1830, from which the following is an extract:

"I thank the senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) for all the kind feeling he has manifested towards the ancient sufferings of the west. Sir, they were great. I know it. I need turn to no document to teach me what they were. They are written upon my memory — a part of them upon my heart. We, the honored men whom you see here

are but the remnant — the savings — the wreck of large families lost in effecting the early settlement of the west. If I look to the right or to the left, or all around, I see monuments of ancient suffering and woe. Ask my colleague (General Desha), who sits near me, what he remembers? He will tell you that while his father was in pursuit of one party of Indians, another party came and murdered two of his brothers. Inquire of yonder governor of Arkansas (Governor Pope), what became of his brother-in-law, Oldham? He will tell you, that he went out to battle, but never returned. Ask that honorable representative (Mr. Wickliffe), where is your uncle, the gallant Hardin? He was intrepid enough to carry a flag of truce under the direction of government to the hostile savages; they did not recognise the right to protection, which the flag of peace threw around him, and they slew him. If I turn to my old class-mate and friend (Mr. Rowan), one of the ancient sons of the wilderness, now a grave, a wise, and potent senator, I am reminded of a mother's courage and intrepidity in the son whom she rescued from savage hands, when in the very grasp of death.

"Mr. President, I was too young to participate in these dangers and difficulties, but I can remember when death was in almost every bush, and every thicket concealed an ambuscade. If I am asked to trace my memory back, and name the first indelible impression it received, it would be the sight of my eldest brother bleeding and dying under the wounds inflicted by the tomahawk and scalping-knife. *Another* and *another* went in the same way. I have seen a widowed mother plundered of her whole property in a single night; from affluence and ease, reduced to poverty in a moment, and thereby compelled to labor with her own hands to educate her last and favorite son, who now addresses you. Sir, I remember the two companies spoken of by the senator from Missouri, sent by Virginia to our relief. They were called *Rangers*; composed of stout rough-looking men, not fit for courts or palaces; but each man was a *man* — to us they were angels of deliverance. They guarded us, and fed us upon the game of the wilderness. In my opinion, sir, one company of them (seventy-five men) was of more real value than as many office-holders of the present day as could stand in the Pennsylvania Avenue between the capitol and the president's house.

"These scenes are past; and now shall I throw censure upon the old states for want of a proper regard for the interests of the west? I cannot do it, so far as Kentucky is concerned. The greatest sufferings there, were from the first of the year 1780, until the fall of 1782. During all that period, the old states were contending for their own safety; and, although Cornwallis surrendered in October, 1781, it was not until after the battle of the Blue Licks, which took place in August, 1782, that such assurances of peace between Great Britain and the United States were entertained, as would justify sending a force to the western country. It was not until the 30th of November, 1782, that the preliminaries of a peace were signed; and from that period, such was the rapid increase of the Kentucky population, that the Indian war was soon transferred to the enemy's country.

"The citizens of Tennessee suffered to a much later period. There the insufficiency of the protection afforded by congress, was deeply felt long after the war with Great Britain had ended; and it was not until Whitley (the same brave man who fell at the battle of the Thames) took his Kentucky volunteers, and united them with men of the same description raised in Tennessee, and marched them, without any authority from the government, against the Cherokees at the Nicajack towns, and conquered them, that any security was afforded to the citizens of Tennessee."

In the midst of perils like these, the early childhood of Mr. GRUNDY passed away. The means of literary instruction existed in the western country in a very limited degree. Though he was distin-

guished by a fondness for learning, and a capacity for improvement beyond his years, and it was the highest ambition of his widowed parent to gratify his inclination, yet the want of seminaries, and the insufficiency of his patrimony, seemed almost to forbid the hope of indulgence. But no circumstance, however discouraging to ordinary minds, could overcome her resolution to give him a liberal education.

About this time, Dr. James Priestly, late president of the Nashville University, established his celebrated academy at Bardstown, Kentucky, in which all the rudiments of a liberal education, both literary and scientific, were successfully taught. Among the students of this seminary were Rowan, Pope, Harrison, Allen, Davis, Cameron, and several others besides the subject of this memoir, who have eminently distinguished themselves in public life, in the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench, in the field, in medicine, and in legislation. The remark of an old Kentucky farmer, if not classical in its style, is perhaps literally true: "That this was the best crop of men that Kentucky ever produced."

Some of the students, when received into this academy, had already made considerable progress in the Latin language at other institutions; GRUNDY and Rowan had received only a common English education. That generous emulation, which is the most powerful stimulant of genius, and the surest indication of future eminence, began at this early period to animate their youthful bosoms. They formed the resolution to overtake and to pass those whose previous advantages had placed them in advance of them. With unremitting perseverance they adhered to their resolution; and in the course of the first year, they accomplished the object; they alone forming the first class in the institution. A rivalship then grew up between themselves, which their preceptor encouraged by promising that neither should be delayed on account of the other. For six months, while studying the Greek language and the higher Latin classics, neither disclosed to the other the extent of his intended recitation; and yet, there was at no time any material difference. Dr. Priestly at length became alarmed for the health of his favorite pupils, and advised a more temperate course of study, and a greater relaxation from labor. This counsel was, in some measure, acquiesced in; yet they continued their application with uncommon assiduity, and finished their education at the same time, each felicitating himself in the consciousness, that among his fellow students he had but one equal in the acquisition of knowledge.

FELIX was the seventh son of his parents in regular succession, and it was probably from the ancient prejudice attached to this cir-

cumstance, that he was at an early period destined, in the mind of his family, to the profession of medicine; but while receiving his education, he had given such proofs of talent for public speaking, as to overcome this predilection; and, in accordance with his own choice, he became a student of law. His legal studies were completed under the direction of Colonel George Nicholas, who was a counsellor of the greatest eminence, and at that time acknowledged to be at the head of the Kentucky bar. The talents and application of the student secured to him the permanent friendship of his preceptor. The attachment of Colonel Nicholas to Mr. GRUNDY continued to the day of his death; and it was reciprocated with enthusiastic veneration. When, in 1799, the convention of Kentucky for the revisal of the constitution of that state was in session, Colonel Nicholas came to the lobby and sent for Mr. GRUNDY, who was a member of the convention. After retiring with him alone, he said, "Mr. GRUNDY, you have commenced political life. Now be honest in all your purposes, and never deceive the people, and your success is certain." This advice was delivered and received, as the dying counsel of a wise preceptor to a favorite student, in whose welfare he took the deepest interest. Colonel Nicholas was then afflicted with the disease, which in a few days terminated his life. The impression which this solemn charge made upon the mind of Mr. GRUNDY, was indelible. He often repeated it; and his public career fulfilled the prophecy it contained.

Immediately upon his admission to the bar, Mr. GRUNDY'S success equalled the sanguine anticipations of his friends, and he soon afterwards married Miss Ann P. Rodgers, and entered upon the business of life with an energy and perseverance which continued during the whole period of his eventful career. He became the father of a large family, the best exciting cause of steady industry.

Mr. GRUNDY secured the confidence of his fellow-citizens so soon as he was known among them; and in very early life, he was called by them to places of high political trust. In 1799, a convention was called to revise the constitution of Kentucky, of which he was elected a member from the county of Washington, though but in the twenty-second year of his age. In this body he distinguished himself as an able debater. At that time the district court system existed in Kentucky, by which the citizens of five or six counties, were brought to a single place for the trial of their causes. Mr. GRUNDY was of opinion, that the administration of the laws would be more convenient, and justice in their application more certain and complete, if the circuit

court system should be introduced, by which the trials should be had in each of the several counties. To effect this object, he proposed to make it a part of the constitution of the state. In this he was opposed by John Breckenridge, a senator in congress, and afterwards attorney-general of the United States, and by others of acknowledged talents and great legal acquirements. A long and interesting debate occurred, in which Mr. GRUNDY took the lead in opposition to these experienced politicians; and although he failed in his object, he gained for himself great reputation, and laid the foundation of future success. From 1799, he continued for several years a member of the Kentucky legislature; and at every session he regularly proposed his favorite circuit court system, and urged it with unwearied perseverance, till he finally succeeded in procuring its adoption. Of that system, in Kentucky, which experience has demonstrated to be most salutary, Mr. GRUNDY is the acknowledged author. His influence carried it through both houses; but it received the *veto* of the governor, and was returned to the house of representatives, in which it originated. It was repassed in that house and also in the senate by the constitutional majority; and Mr. GRUNDY had the gratification of succeeding in his favorite measure; the governor's objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. GRUNDY, in common with many republicans of that day, was unwilling to see his country become a banking community. In 1802, a bill was reported to the legislature of Kentucky, having for its ostensible design, the incorporation of an insurance company in the town of Lexington. The supposed object was approved, and the bill passed without much examination into its details. It soon appeared that the real intention had not been disclosed, except to a few who were friendly to it. It soon became generally known, however, from the company assuming, under the ambiguous phraseology of one of the clauses of the charter, the power of establishing a bank. When this intention was disclosed, Mr. GRUNDY avowed his determination to propose a repeal of the charter, upon the ground that it was fraudulently and surreptitiously obtained. Henry Clay was at this time a member of the Kentucky legislature, and warmly opposed Mr. GRUNDY's proposition to repeal the law. On this question, that memorable debate took place between them, in which they alternately occupied the attention of the general assembly for six days. The discussion was conducted with great ability and eloquence on both sides; and after a long and doubtful strife, the bill to repeal the law passed both houses of the legislature. It was laid before the governor,

who interposed his constitutional *veto*, and returned it to the house in which it originated, with his objections. The great popularity of the governor was now thrown into the scale against the repeal. The debate was renewed between the same parties with redoubled interest on both sides; and after another long and earnest contest, the bill again passed the house of representatives by the constitutional majority, but for want of the same majority in the senate it was lost.

The state of Kentucky had sold her public lands in small tracts, which were to be paid for in annual instalments. Mr. GRUNDY had never yielded his assent to a system which would render the citizens debtors to the state, and dependent upon legislative forbearance for their homes and their subsistence. The purchasers had mostly become the settlers; and in their efforts to convert the wilderness into cultivated fields, many of them were unable to meet the payments with punctuality. While Mr. GRUNDY was a member of the legislature, constant efforts were made to procure a forfeiture of those lands, and their re-sale to others. To this resort, he opposed the whole weight of his talents and his influence. Although he had deprecated a measure which reduced citizens to this state of dependence, he still more strongly deprecated the proposed measure which would drive them from their homes, while the fruit of their labors would be enjoyed by others more fortunate. He always advocated a moderate course of indulgence; the course which, greatly through his influence, has been pursued; and its result has been to secure the interest of the state in its claims, and at the same time to confirm the settlers of the wilderness in the enjoyment of their well-earned possessions.

He continued a member of the legislature till the fall of 1806, when he was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court of errors and appeals by the nomination of the governor and a unanimous confirmation of the senate. Soon after his appointment to the supreme court, Judge Todd was transferred from the bench of the state, to that of the supreme court of the United States, when Mr. GRUNDY was appointed chief justice of Kentucky. In this situation, he was alike distinguished for his industry, impartiality, and ability. The delays of justice are sometimes as injurious as its perversion; and to remove this evil, he and his associates held an almost perpetual term for the dispatch of business, during the time he continued chief justice.

The wants of a growing family required further provision than was afforded by the compensation attached to his office, and he considered it his duty to leave the bench for the more lucrative labors of the bar. He therefore resigned his office in the winter of 1807–8, and removed

to Nashville, in Tennessee, where he obtained a standing in the first rank of his profession, though Haywood, Whitesides, and other equally distinguished *jurists*, were among his competitors. But the branch of his profession in which he most excelled, was that of criminal defence. In this department, he was unrivalled. In every important criminal prosecution his services were desired as an advocate for the accused; and when obtained, they were regarded as a guarantee of justice at least. To aid him in defence, was all that others aspired to: none claimed equality with him in this branch of the profession; and in his own part of the country, for more than twenty years, until his duties in the senate of the United States gave a different direction to his talents, he held what is called the criminal practice in his own hands. His reputation spread through other states, and in trials for capital offences, he was employed in Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, and Illinois. After his settlement in Nashville, it is understood that of an hundred and five individuals charged with capital offences, who had the benefit of his services, one only was finally condemned and executed. It may well be doubted whether equal success ever attended the efforts of any other advocate in any country.

The aggressions of Great Britain upon the rights of this country had long been a subject of complaint; and remonstrance had been answered only by reiterated acts of injustice, till our national sovereignty was insulted, and our independence threatened. Mr. GRUNDY was the friend of peace. All his principles and pursuits induced him to cultivate amity, both in his personal relations, and in his public duties.

Dearly as he loved peace, however, he loved freedom more. He was opposed to the shedding of blood; but still more to degradation. He was fixed in the opinion, that the injuries inflicted upon our country called for redress, and that it would be incompatible with national honor and sovereignty, longer to endure them. To contribute the weight of his talents in giving efficacy to what he believed to be public sentiment upon this subject, he consented at the solicitation of his fellow citizens, to become a candidate for congress. The whole of West Tennessee at that time formed but one congressional district; and by that district he was elected with great unanimity, in 1811. In this body he successfully advocated the principles on which he was chosen, and soon became one of the most active, useful, and prominent members. He was placed on the committee of foreign relations, at that time the most important in congress. He continued a member during four sessions, giving a most efficient support to the

administration throughout that arduous struggle, when he felt at liberty to yield to the call of domestic duties, arising from family afflictions, and retired to private life. Soon after this, when the war, to the support of which he had given the powerful aid of his talents and eloquence in congress, had terminated by the most brilliant achievement of modern warfare, his fellow-citizens naturally turned to him to prepare and deliver a congratulatory address to the hero of New Orleans, on his return to Nashville, which he accomplished in a manner worthy of his own high reputation, and the deserts of the illustrious man, who was coming from the toils and dangers of war, to the bosom of his enthusiastic and admiring neighbors.

He continued in private life till 1819, when he yielded to the wishes of the citizens of his county, and became a member of the legislature of Tennessee. To this body, his preëminent talents and commanding influence rendered him an invaluable acquisition. The boundary line between Tennessee and Kentucky, had long been a subject of controversy, which was at this time assuming an aspect that threatened the harmony of the two states. Legislative resolutions and negotiations by authorized commissioners, had failed to effect any agreement. The citizens of these two states are of the same character—generous, brave, and independent, strong in their friendship; but high spirited and resolute in maintaining their rights. Neither would yield what they believed to be their just claims, and neither was satisfied with the demands of the other. The prospect of adjustment had become almost hopeless, when the legislature of Tennessee appointed Mr. GRUNDY and William L. Brown, Esq., another distinguished member of the Tennessee bar, with full authority to proceed to the Kentucky legislature, then about to assemble, and enter into an arrangement for the final settlement of the controversy. So entire was the confidence of the general assembly of Tennessee in their two commissioners, that any adjustment which should be made by them, was declared by the act authorizing the negotiation to be "final and conclusive, and not to require the ratification of the state." A spirit of conciliation and liberal feeling on the part of the Tennessee commissioners was introduced into the negotiation and reciprocated on the part of Kentucky. The result of this conciliatory course was an amicable adjustment of all the matters in controversy to the mutual satisfaction of both states, and fully justified the unprecedented confidence, which had been placed by the legislature of Tennessee, in the prudence, skill, integrity and ability of her negotiators.

The extraordinary change in the amount and value of the circu-

lating medium of the country, which took place in 1818, 19, and 20, produced a general pressure in the west. It was so deeply felt in Tennessee, that legislative interference was loudly called for, by a suffering community. The governor of the state convened the legislature in 1820, for the express purpose of providing relief. An interference between the debtor and creditor was proposed. Mr. GRUNDY regarded the contract which existed between the parties, entered into under the sanction of the law, as of too sacred a character to be violated by the passage of what are usually denominated relief laws. Yet he was so deeply impressed with the necessity of some measure calculated to save the great community of debtors from ruin, and without violating the obligation of contracts, that he introduced a bill to establish a bank exclusively upon the funds of the state, a large amount of which had recently been collected from the sale of its public lands, and which he wished to be loaned in small sums to individuals for their relief, under such restrictions as would be calculated to effect the object, and with such securities as would ensure its eventual return to the public coffers. This measure was warmly opposed by some of the ablest and most influential men of the state, and particularly by P. M. Miller, Esq., a member from Knox county, who took the lead in the opposition. He was a man of great genius and talent, of whom Mr. GRUNDY often said, "that he considered him one of the most skillful and able men he ever contended with in a deliberative assembly." Mr. GRUNDY, however, prevailed. The bill was passed into a law. The bank was established. It afforded the desired relief to the community; and but for the faithlessness of some of the agents employed in its management, it would have yielded great profit to the state.

Mr. GRUNDY continued a member of the legislature of Tennessee for six years, when he declined a reëlection, and again retired to private life, but whether in public or private life, his fellow-citizens relied upon his services, whenever an extraordinary occasion called for them. To him, therefore, as in other states, the most distinguished orator of each had been chosen, they looked for an oration on the occurrence of one of the most remarkable events of history—the extraordinary cotemporaneous death of Jefferson and Adams, on the 4th of July, exactly half a century after the one had penned, and the other by his fervid eloquence, had sustained the declaration of independence in the illustrious congress of 1776. This oration has been selected and published among those deemed most worthy of preservation.

In 1829, on the accession of General Jackson to the presidency,

Mr. GRUNDY was elected a member of the senate of the United States, to which he was reëlected in 1833; and in a body, more distinguished than it ever had been since its institution for extraordinary talent, he continued to be, as he was on his first introduction into it, one of the most efficient, discreet, and able supporters of the prominent measures of the administration.

On the first of September, 1838, Mr. GRUNDY was appointed Attorney General of the United States, and continued in office with the reputation of an efficient and useful public officer till 1840, when he was again elected to the senate of the United States, as a senator for the state of Tennessee, for a term to end in 1845. He did not live, however, to serve out his term of office. His death took place in December, 1842, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Mr. GRUNDY's stature was of the ordinary height; his form inclined to portliness; his complexion ruddy; his hair light brown, mixed with gray, and his eyes blue. His countenance was intelligent, and its expression mild, cheerful and benevolent, indicative of contentment and happiness; yet it showed much decision and firmness of purpose. His manners were amiable, unaffected, kind, and conciliating in a high degree. His conversation was entertaining and instructive, abounding in humor and playful wit, and occasionally sarcastic and severe. He never permitted the excitement of political contention to sour his temper, or to interrupt or embitter social intercourse. He had therefore few personal enemies, and he often found warm friends amongst his political opponents. His even and cheerful disposition rendered him the delight of the domestic circle, in all the relations of which he exhibited an example worthy of imitation. He drew his morals from the pure fountain of Christian ethics—and was severe only with himself, being always charitable and lenient towards others. In his transactions and intercourse with his fellow men, his conduct was always under the control of an inflexible sense of justice and integrity.

Samuel Sandars

SIMON KENTON.

To many of our readers the name of General SIMON KENTON is now probably presented for the first time: he belonged to a class of hardy pioneers, to whose exertions and privations the present race of civilized man in the west is greatly indebted. He was one of the first white men who planted corn in the now great and wealthy state of Kentucky; as such, we have in his biography to deal with "hair breadth 'scapes," and the usual amount of deadly warfare, which characterized the period of the early settlement of the banks of the Ohio. To preserve from oblivion the characters of men who were the instruments to prepare the way for peopling the western states, is the duty of the biographer. SIMON KENTON's memory and brave conduct should be cherished, and his name should descend to posterity with those of Boon, Clark, and others.

Our hero was born in the month of March, 1755, in Fauquier county, Virginia. His father emigrated from Ireland, and his mother was of Scottish descent, her ancestors having been among the first settlers of Virginia. His parents being in middling circumstances, he was employed till the age of sixteen in the cultivation of corn and tobacco. At that period an incident occurred which changed the destiny of his future life.

One of his father's neighbors, named Veach, had a son who married a lady to whom young KENTON was attached; some circumstances occurred at the wedding, which Simon attended without invitation, that were construed by him into an affront; he was struck during the evening by William Veach, while in the act of drinking; and not content with this indignity, while prostrate from the blow, William gave him a severe beating, which sent him home with black eyes and sore bruises. He felt himself disgraced, and in silence determined to be revenged. Watching his opportunity, he soon after found himself alone with Veach, and challenged him to the combat. He would accept of no apology. Being victorious over his fallen adversary, KENTON, roused by the remembrance of

the insult to double fury, exhibited so little mercy to his foe, that when his anger was expended he was greatly alarmed at the appearance of Veach, whom he thought, from his inanimate features, must be dead. Perceiving no signs of returning life, and greatly alarmed at the consequences of his blind fury, he started for home. By the way, reflection on the consequences of his conduct filled him with alarm; the horrors of punishment, and probably of the gibbet, overcame his resolution of returning, and he resolved on instant flight. Without waiting to see and consult his parents or friends, he struck off in a northwestern direction, and crossed the Alleghany mountains on the 6th of April, 1771. At Ise's ford he changed his name to that of Simon Butler. A prey to remorse at having committed a crime so contrary to his natural disposition, he fell in with three men who were preparing to descend the Ohio river; and having previously by his labor procured a good rifle, he joined the party, and proceeded to Fort Pitt, (now Pittsburg.) Here he formed a friendship with the notorious Simon Girty, who was the means, at a future period, of his rescue from the Indians when doomed to the stake. The party he had joined being given up, KENTON associated himself with another, and descended the river, occasionally stopping at any point where pleasure or the prospect of game tempted them to halt, hunting, trapping, or dancing with the Indian girls, until they arrived at the mouth of the Great Kenawha, and thence up Elk river, where they built a camp and employed the winter in trapping. In the spring of 1772, they descended the river to the Ohio, where they sold their peltry to a French trader, and procured ammunition and clothing.

Left now for a year in doubt as to the fact of his being a murderer, he appears to have conceived that, as he intended no such act, he was in reality not guilty; his anxiety was all turned upon those whom he had left in ignorance of his own fate. The summer of 1772 was passed in hunting, and the winter in the old camp, where in March the party was surprised by Indians, and one of their number killed; the others escaped with their lives, leaving every thing else to their enemy. With legs and bodies lacerated and inflamed, KENTON and a companion, on the sixth day, met another party near the mouth of the Kenawha, by whom they were received with kindness. Their wounds being dressed, they entered the employment of Mr. Briscoe, then endeavouring to form a settlement on the Great Kenawha, contemporaneously with the founding of Wheeling, Grave Creek, and Long Reach. KENTON again

employed his first earnings in procuring a good rifle, and immediately joined a trapping party and proceeded to the Ohio. After various adventures, we find him, in 1774, when an Indian war became inevitable, with the other strollers on the river retreating to Fort Pitt. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, having raised an army to chastise the aggressors, KENTON was employed as a spy to precede the troops and report the condition of the country. The army crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Hockhocking, and cautiously proceeded to the Pickaway towns, on the Scioto, where the natives sued for peace. No sooner was this granted and the troops safely ensconced in Fort Pitt, than the treaty was broken, and Colonel Lewis was sent to enforce the articles or chastise the enemy, and KENTON's services were again in requisition. On his discharge he turned to his old pursuit of trapping, in the course of which, finding a fine cane-growing tract of land back of Limestone, now Maysville, in Kentucky, the party formed a camp, and with their tomahawks commenced clearing a small piece of ground: from the remains of some corn, procured from a French trader for the purpose of parching, they selected a small quantity, and planted, it is believed, the first corn on the north side of Kentucky river. Tending their crop with no other implement than their tomahawks, they remained undisputed masters of the soil until they had the pleasure of eating roasting ears and of seeing their infant plantation produce the ripened fruit. This spot, called Kenton's station, was about one mile from the present town of Washington, in Mason county.

On making an excursion in search of buffalo, then roving in vast herds in Kentucky, he met another settler, named Stoner, who advised him to try a spot further south, and he passed the winter forty-five miles from his late residence. In the spring, the American revolution being in progress, and the natives stimulated by the British to destroy the infant settlements, the white men were obliged to flee. KENTON joined Major (afterwards General) George Rogers Clark, sent out by Virginia to protect the settlers. On their return with a party from an excursion, made to bring in a supply of ammunition that had been deposited on an island in the Ohio by Major Clark, they found the people at their fort in such a state of alarm, from a recent attack of the savages, that it was resolved to abandon it and join the station called Harrod's, where a terrible siege was sustained with unflinching courage, in the midst of alarms and carnage. KENTON again accepted the office of spy, or scout,

of active life was, however, not consonant with his feelings or habits, and the winter of 1778–79 passed heavily. Among the prisoners were some of his old associates, with two of whom KENTON concerted, in the spring, a plan of escape. In this they were aided by a lady of the place, the wife of an Indian trader, named Harvey, who had formed a friendship for one of them. By her assistance, guns, ammunition, and food, were procured and secreted in a hollow tree near the town. Early one morning they left Detroit. Steering their course by the stars, they eluded pursuit and gained the prairie, where they depended for sustenance on their rifles. In thirty-three days they reached the falls of the Ohio, in July, 1779.

KENTON thence proceeded to Vincennes to join his old companion in arms, General Clark: alone he traversed the whole distance without any serious adventure; but finding the fort in a state of inglorious quiet, he returned. He distinguished himself during the invasion of Kentucky by the British and Indians in 1779, having been appointed a captain, and commanding an active and numerous company of volunteers, principally from Harrod's station, who traversed the untrodden wilderness and drove all opposition before them.

After the disbanding of his company, KENTON remained in the employ of the several stations till 1782. At this period he heard, for the first time, from his long-abandoned parents, and learned that William Veach had recovered and was still living. He now assumed his own name, and after commanding another successful expedition against the marauding Indians on the Great Miami, he returned to Harrod's, and having acquired some valuable lands, concluded to make a settlement on a fertile spot on Salt river. A few families joined him, reared block-houses, cleared some ground, and planted corn; which being gathered, he concluded to visit his parents. After thirteen years absence, passed amidst scenes of great privation and suffering, he had the satisfaction of finding his father and all his family living. He visited Veach, and their old quarrel was mutually forgiven. His glowing descriptions of the fertility of Kentucky induced his parents to accompany him on his return, and the family set out for the promised land, but his father died ere their journey was accomplished. KENTON remained at Salt river till July, 1784, and had the pleasure of witnessing the growth of his settlement, to which numerous emigrants now flocked. He thence removed to near Maysville, where he formed the first permanent

station on the northeast side of Licking river. Throngs of emigrants were attracted to the spot: the Indians were successfully kept at bay by the activity and intelligence of the master spirit of KENTON, who was ever foremost when danger threatened, and who was looked up to as the main dependence in case of difficulty or discouragement. His opponent was sometimes the celebrated chief Tecumseh, whose tact and intrepidity it was not always in the power of our veteran to conquer.

In 1793, General Wayne came down the Ohio with the regular army, and formed an encampment below Cincinnati, called Hobson's choice. Making a requisition for men on Kentucky, KENTON was, among the number, placed as a major at the head of as choice spirits as ever guarded a frontier, and was employed in various services. As little was effected by this party, our narrative need not be detained in relating the particular events of the campaign. The Indian war was now happily terminated, and an unprecedented number of emigrants were attracted to the shores of the Ohio. Land became valuable; and as there was great irregularity and want of precision in the first entries and surveys, the foundation was laid for those subsequent disputes which have given occasion to a series of litigation, involving the hard-earned estates of the original settlers too frequently in ruin. Although KENTON was considered one of the wealthiest inhabitants in real estate, yet one of his land claims failed after another, till he was completely involved in a labyrinth of lawsuits. Every advantage was taken of his want of education and ignorance of the law, which in a few years stripped this honest man of his hardly-earned wealth, and sent him, in the evening of his days, penniless and dejected, to spend his few remaining years in comparative poverty and want.

About the year 1800, he abandoned the soil which he had rendered tenantable by his courage and endurance, and settled on the waters of the Mad river, in the state of Ohio. In 1805, he was made a brigadier-general of militia. In 1810, he joined the Methodist church, and experienced that consolation which religion alone can impart.

In 1812, when more than sixty years of age, some of his youthful fire still remained, and he was wont to converse with spirit of his former deeds of arms. In 1813, when his old companion, Governor Shelby, came to Urbana at the head of the Kentucky troops, KENTON could remain no longer inactive. He mounted his horse and joined the venerable governor, who gladly received him as a privi-

leged member of his military family. He crossed the lake, and accompanied General Harrison and Governor Shelby to Malden, and thence to the Thames; was present in the battle, and played his part with his usual intrepidity. Here ended the military career of SIMON KENTON, a man who has probably passed through as great a variety of border adventures as any of our most renowned western pioneers.

About ten years since, the American government awarded KENTON a meager pension, which secured him from absolute want in his declining years. His narrative, had it been prepared at length with suitable care, would have formed a volume not less interesting than the most marvellous fiction. Enough has been here related to exhibit the outlines of a character remarkable for its power of endurance and its intrepidity. Like all the hardy sons of the west, KENTON's hospitality was always commensurate with his means: during his prosperity his house was open to the wealthy emigrant and the benighted traveller. Many of the descendants of the earlier settlers still cherish the memory of his virtues.

The portrait from which our engraving has been made, and which is certified by the immediate friends and neighbours of General KENTON to be a most accurate likeness, was taken at his residence expressly for this work, and but about three months before his death.

This stanch pioneer, the companion of Boon, whose adventures he emulated and equalled, died in Logan county, Ohio, on the 3d day of April, 1836, aged about eighty-two. How astonishing is it, when we look over Kentucky, Ohio, and the surrounding states, now teeming with millions of civilized inhabitants, to reflect that one who wandered through them when beasts of prey and the more savage Indian were their sole occupants, has but just fallen into the grave!

Jared Sparks

JARED SPARKS.

It is a trite remark that the life of a scholar and a man of letters is usually barren of incident, and affords but few materials for the biographer. The scholar's true life is in his works; the toil which produces them may have extended through a long succession of quiet years, which offer few breaks for the memory to rest upon, and no startling events that excite the feelings in a retrospect. From the loopholes of retreat, he looks out upon a busy and agitated world, agitated with events which but partially concern him, and with cares that have little power to vex his repose. But the earlier portion of such a life, especially in this country, often has a peculiar and touching interest. The golden quiet of a scholar's maturer days not unfrequently has to be purchased by struggle and hardship, by many a rude combat with the world, which lays a strong hold upon us even in childhood, and seems to point out some destination in life quite unlike the cherished object of our hopes and dreams. The record of such a struggle is useful and animating; it may often serve to invigorate exertion, and prevent those who have similar aspirations, and are sorely pressed by circumstances, from sinking into despair.

Nearly thirty years ago, Mr. Sparks had occasion to write a sketch of the life and writings of Robert Robinson, an eminent Baptist preacher of the last century in England, who was originally a barber's apprentice; and he prefaced it with the following remarks:

"That one should go out triumphantly on the tide of life, who is blessed with all the advantages of family, wealth, powerful friends, facilities of education, and incitements to employ them, is no cause of wonder. It would, indeed, be strange if it were otherwise. But, when the sons of obscurity and indigence break from the cloud that surrounds, and the weight which oppresses them; when they enter on the world's wide ocean without a parent's voice to counsel, or a parent's hand to protect; when the allurements of vice besiege them on the one side, and the spectres of despondency assault them on the other, without shaking their firmness, or turning them from the steady

purpose of uprightness and perseverance; and when, in defiance of every other obstacle, they ascend to a proud station among the wise, the learned, and the good, it is then that they may justly claim the respect and admiration of their fellow men, and call on them to behold an example worthy to be praised and emulated. Among the few, who are to be revered for self-acquired eminence, the subject of the present memoir stands in an honorable place."

These words may be applied with little change to the author's own career; a career equally clouded with adversity and hardship at the outset, and blessed with a still larger share of well merited fortune and distinction after the clouds had broken, and the pathway of honorable exertion had become clear.

JARED SPARKS is a native of Willington, Connecticut, where he passed his boyhood, with the exception of a few years that were spent in Washington county, New York. Born in very humble circumstances, he was compelled, while obtaining the meagre rudiments of an education, which the public schools in small country towns then afforded, to work for a livelihood. He labored for a time on a farm, and for a year or more in assisting to tend a dilapidated grist-mill and saw-mill, whose slow movements allowed him frequent broken hours over Guthrie's Geography, which by some marvel had fallen in his way. Yet, during this early period, he showed a quickness in study, and an eagerness for procuring knowledge, as may be inferred from the following anecdote, which appeared some time ago in the newspapers:

"On a late visit to Mansfield, Connecticut, we formed a pleasant acquaintance with an old gentleman, named Holt, formerly a school teacher, who numbered among his pupils no less a personage than JARED SPARKS, the distinguished biographer and historian. Mr. Holt related to us a number of anecdotes and incidents of 'Jared,' as he termed his honored pupil. He said 'Jared was an uncommonly fine boy,' and would learn more in one week, than his other scholars would learn in three or four weeks.

"'One night,' said he, 'at the dismissal of school, I told Jared to remain with me after the others had gone. He did so; and looking up to me with an inquiring glance, said, 'Master, what have I done?' 'Done? too much for me!' said the schoolmaster.

"At this, Jared became embarrassed, and begged an explanation. The good man then told him, that he was getting too learned for his master, and recommended him to enter a higher institution. But the youth did not consent, and begged to remain a while longer."

Soon afterwards he was apprenticed to a carpenter, with whom he remained about two years. Although he applied himself with diligence to this new calling, and was in a fair way to become a good workman, yet his mind wandered to other objects. He contrived to obtain a few books from a small village library, and his leisure hours were given to reading, and particularly to mathematical studies. At length his employer, perceiving the strong bent of his inclinations, and being a man of a kind heart and generous spirit, cheerfully consented to relinquish the articles of the apprenticeship and to give up the remainder of the time to which he was entitled. The first ambition of the released apprentice was to become a schoolmaster. He passed the ordeal of an examination before a school committee, and was pronounced competent to take charge of a school in a small district on the outskirts of the town of Tolland. This school continued only through the winter, and for employment during the next summer he was obliged to resort again to the trade which he had partially learned.

At this time it was his good fortune to gain the notice of an excellent clergyman, the Rev. Hubbel Loomis, of Willington, whose attention was somewhat excited by the spectacle of a carpenter's apprentice, who was fond of reading Euclid, and solving problems in Algebra; he kindly offered to give him assistance in the mathematics, in which he was himself well versed. A few weeks afterwards, however, by the advice of his teacher, he was induced to extend his studies farther, and to begin the Latin grammar. Meantime, Mr. Loomis took him to his own house, and, in partial compensation for board and instruction, it was agreed that the young carpenter should shingle the minister's barn, a salutary exercise to fill up the hours of relaxation from study.

Hitherto the young student had no special object for the future. His passion for acquiring knowledge was strong, but his aspirations were not extravagant. A little experience had taught him that he could keep a school, which he looked upon as a high and honorable employment; and to fill that station with credit and success was the limit of his hopes. He had not dreamed of going to college, and thus qualifying himself for more enlarged pursuits. But Mr. Loomis naturally mentioned his case to other clergymen of the neighborhood, and among these was one, who, at this time, and on many subsequent occasions, showed a quick sympathy for merit struggling with adversity, and contrived to smooth its way to successful results. We refer to the Rev. Abiel Abbot, now living at an advanced age in Peter-

borough, New Hampshire, but who was then a clergyman settled in Coventry, Connecticut.

One day, much to his surprise, young SPARKS was called into Mr. Loomis' study to meet this gentleman, who asked him several questions, and finally requested him to recite a passage from Virgil. This was done, and Mr. Abbot departed. Not long afterwards, Mr. Loomis inquired of SPARKS if he would like to go to Phillips Exeter Academy, and be fitted for College. Of course there could be but one answer to such a question; but how could he enter an academy without means, and without friends to aid him? Mr. Loomis replied, that this formidable difficulty would be removed at Exeter, where there was a benevolent foundation upon which students to a limited number were admitted without paying any fees for tuition, or incurring any charge for board, and added, moreover, that Mr. Abbot, hearing of a vacancy, had actually procured a place for him on that foundation. No time was to be lost, as the academical term would commence in a few days, and all the students were expected then to be present.

SPARKS was forthwith despatched to Mr. Abbot at Coventry, for the purpose of signifying his acceptance, expressing his thanks, and ascertaining further particulars. The question was at length asked, how he proposed to reach Exeter, a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles, to which he promptly replied, that he should travel on foot. This plan was approved, and as he needed rather more luggage than he could carry on his back, Mr. Abbot, who was on the point of making a journey to Exeter, kindly offered to convey his trunk by strapping it behind his chaise. This arrangement was executed, and when the appointed time came, young SPARKS set forth stoutly on his pedestrian travels in search of an education. At the end of the fourth day, dusty, and it may be supposed somewhat weary, but with a light heart, he made his appearance at the house of the principal of the academy, from whom he received the welcome intelligence that his trunk had already arrived.

At this institution, which he entered in 1809, Mr. SPARKS spent two happy and useful years. The academy was fortunate, not only in the amount of its funds, which still enable it to defray all the expenses of a number of beneficiary students, but in having the services of a principal like Dr. Benjamin Abbot, who remained at the head of it for half a century, and during that time, by the urbanity of his manners, the kindness of his heart, and the great moral influence which he exercised over the minds and character of his pupils, acquired a lasting claim to their love and gratitude, and won for

himself a name among the foremost of the instructors of youth in New England.

While connected with the academy, Mr. SPARKS taught a school one winter at Rochester, in New Hampshire. Having completed his preparatory studies, he entered Harvard College in 1811. Here his path was not so smooth as at Exeter. The means of the College for assisting meritorious but indigent young men were very scanty, nor are they much enlarged even at the present day. But the kindness of President Kirkland procured a Pennoyer scholarship for the young student, and helped him through some remaining difficulties; and he helped himself by the common resource, in such cases, of keeping a country district school during the winter. But as all these means together proved insufficient, he was obliged to obtain leave of absence during a part of the freshman and sophomore years, which he spent in teaching a small private school at Havre de Grace, in Maryland, procured through the favor of Dr. Dwight, president of Yale College. He was residing at that place when it was attacked, plundered, and in great part destroyed by a detachment from the British fleet, in May, 1813. As this assault had been apprehended for some weeks, a few preparations had been made to receive the enemy; and Mr. SPARKS obtained his only military experience by serving for a short time in the ranks of the militia that were called out to guard the town. The attack being delayed, however, this apprehension had subsided, and most of the troops went home, so that, when the British actually landed, very little resistance was made. Most of the inhabitants fled to the nearest woods; and Mr. SPARKS and a few others remained as passive spectators of the conflagration and wanton destruction of property that ensued. After an absence of fifteen months he returned to college, and graduated with his class in 1815. In alluding to his college course, he has often been heard to speak with the warmest gratitude of the encouraging counsels and assistance, which he received from President Kirkland.

After leaving college, the first year was spent in teaching a private classical school at Lancaster, Massachusetts. He then returned to Harvard, and became a student of divinity, chiefly under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Ware, who was then the Hollis Professor. In 1817 the college appointed him to a tutorship in mathematics and natural philosophy, which post he held for two years, still pursuing, however, his theological studies. At this time, also, his proper literary career commenced. The North American Review had been established in May, 1815, by the late William Tudor, and was transferred

by him, two years afterwards, to an association of gentlemen, of whom Mr. SPARKS was one. He was, in fact, the editor, having the principal charge of the work, though articles were not admitted till they had been approved by a majority of the association, who held frequent meetings for this purpose. His associates in this enterprise were Richard H. Dana, Edward T. Channing, Willard Phillips, Nathan Hale, William P. Mason, and John Gallison. At this time the professorship of Latin in Bowdoin College was offered to him, which he thought proper to decline, as not agreeing with the plan of life he had then adopted.

Having completed his preparatory theological studies, Mr. SPARKS retired from the editorship, and accepted an invitation from a new Unitarian church and society, that had been established at Baltimore. Maryland, to become their pastor. He was ordained there in May. 1819. The office which he thus took upon himself was one of peculiar labor and difficulty, and particularly trying to a young man, who, as yet, had had no experience in his profession, having but just left the shades of academic life. The Unitarians formed a society, whose religious opinions, imperfectly known, were regarded by all the other Christian denominations with strong suspicion and dislike. The other clergymen of the place, though treating him with great courtesy in private life, acknowledged no ecclesiastical fellowship with the young preacher of what they considered heterodox doctrine; and he was far removed from the active aid of his brethren of the same faith. The difficulties of his situation were even increased by the eloquent sermon, which the celebrated Dr. Channing preached at his ordination, and which contained a bold avowal and defence of the leading peculiarities of the Unitarian belief. The flames of theological controversy were kindled anew by the publication of this remarkable discourse, Doctors Woods and Stuart of Andover, and Ware and Norton of Cambridge, with other eminent theologians, taking an active part in the discussion. Mr. SPARKS had to perform unaided all the duties of his parish, and to face the whole strength of the opposition which had thus been recently stirred up against the doctrines which he professed. Controversy was a necessity of his position, and he entered into it with earnestness and decision, but without ever losing command of his temper or his language. Even his opponents were obliged to respect the dignity of his manner, the extent of his attainments, and the purity of his life. It was a remarkable proof of the confidence and esteem, which his weight of character commanded, in spite of the unpopularity of his theological opinions, that he was

elected chaplain to the House of Representatives in Congress, at the session of 1821.

The field of controversy was soon opened. Early in 1820, the Rev. Dr. William E. Wyatt, a highly respectable clergyman of the Episcopal church in Baltimore, preached and published a sermon in which were exhibited some of the author's views of the tenets of Unitarians. In reference to this discourse, Mr. SPARKS published a few months afterwards an octavo volume, entitled "Letters on the Ministry, Ritual, and Doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal Church." It was a temperate but thorough criticism of the dogmas and practice of the Anglican church, written in a courteous but earnest manner, and intended to set forth the principal reasons why the Unitarians could not accept either the thirty-nine articles, or the Episcopalian theory of church government. Thus it was not so much an attack upon Episcopalianism, as a defence of those doctrines which the writer himself professed.

The following year, Mr. SPARKS began a periodical publication, called "The Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor," devoted to the same purpose of explaining and defending Unitarian views of religious doctrine and practice. It was published monthly, in a duodecimo form, being designed for general circulation among common readers, and therefore not admitting learned or elaborate discussions. The labor of conducting it was voluntarily undertaken, in addition to all the cares and toil belonging to the ministry of an isolated parish, and with very little coöperation from others. Mr. SPARKS edited it without aid, and in fact for nearly two years wrote the greater part of it himself. It had all the success that could have been anticipated for a publication of such a character, being continued during the whole remaining period of his stay at Baltimore; and his successor in the editorship, Dr. Greenwood, carried it on for two years afterwards.

In this work Mr. SPARKS commenced a series of letters to the Rev. Dr. Miller of Princeton, on the "Comparative Moral Tendency of Trinitarian and Unitarian Doctrines," which he afterwards published, with many important additions and alterations, in a large octavo volume, at Boston, in 1823. Dr. Miller had published a sermon at Baltimore, which contained some remarks on Unitarians, that were thought to be unreasonably severe and unjust. Mr. SPARKS made some strictures on the sermon; Dr. Miller replied; and out of the controversy sprang these letters, the most elaborate and thoughtful of the writer's theological productions.

To complete the list of his writings of this class, we may here men-

tion the "Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology, from Various Authors, with Biographical and Critical Notices," in six duodecimo volumes, the publication of which commenced some time before he left Baltimore, but was not completed till after his return to Boston. It was an attempt to bring together, in a cheap form, designed for general circulation and the use of common readers, some of the most remarkable and interesting shorter works of eminent theologians, which deserve to be rescued from dust and virtual oblivion in the voluminous and cumbersome repositories of theological learning. The plan was suggested, as Mr. SPARKS states in the preface, by that of Bishop Watson's excellent Collection of Tracts; though he did not attempt, as Bishop Watson had done, to arrange the several treatises in so methodical a manner that they should constitute a general system of divinity. Some translations from French authors were added to selections from the works of eminent English divines. The choice was made without special reference to the peculiar religious tenets of the various writers. "The only unvarying rule of selection," said Mr. SPARKS, "will be, that every article chosen shall be marked with rational and liberal views of Christianity, and suited to inform the mind, or improve the temper and practice. Nothing will be introduced which violates the Protestant principles of Christian liberty, free inquiry, toleration, and the exercise of private judgment in all the concerns of religion." The plan thus conceived was very ably carried out, the selection being made with uniform good taste, so that the volumes are a desirable accession to the library of every private Christian, be his theological tenets what they may. Among the names of the authors, from whose works selections were made, accompanied with biographical and critical notices by Mr. SPARKS, were those of Turretin, Archdeacon Blackburne, Bishop Hoadly, Whitby, Bishop Hare, William Penn, Sir Isaac Newton, Robert Robinson, Emlyn, Sykes, Benson, John Hales, Locke, Watts, and Jeremy Taylor. The publication of the work was completed in 1826.

Labors so numerous and exhausting, as those which Mr. SPARKS assumed at Baltimore, could not be continued for a long period without producing injurious effects upon his health. After suffering several attacks of illness in the fourth year of his settlement, he reluctantly made up his mind that he must not only leave his parish, but probably abandon the ministerial profession. In a letter which he addressed to his society, in April, 1823, informing them of this decision, he alluded with great satisfaction to "the perfect harmony and good fellowship which have prevailed, not only between you and your pastor, but

among yourselves, from the time you were organized into a separate religious society." In their answer, the society assured him that they had received his communication "with sentiments of the deepest sorrow and regret. It has caused us to realize more sensibly than perhaps we have ever done, the value of your past connection with us, and the magnitude of the loss which we must sustain by its dissolution." "The difficulties generally incident to the formation of a new society," they added, "were in our case peculiarly embarrassing; but, by the aid of your talents and exertions, they have been greatly alleviated, and by your example, your counsel, your public instructions, and your writings, we have been taught to encounter and bear them. You have given firmness to our resolutions, energy to our endeavors, and confidence to our hopes."

Mr. SPARKS left Baltimore early in June, 1823, and spent the larger portion of the summer in travelling among the Allegany mountains, and in other parts of the West, for the benefit of his health. On returning to Boston, he found the North American Review still in the hands of the association of gentlemen heretofore mentioned, and under the editorship of Mr. Edward Everett, whose brilliant talents and varied accomplishments had contributed to extend and confirm its reputation at home and abroad, as the leading American journal of letters. At this time Mr. Everett was disposed to relinquish the further charge of the work, and Mr. SPARKS purchased it of the owners, and continued to be the sole proprietor and editor for seven years. Under his supervision its circulation increased, and it attained even a greater measure of popularity and success. A large portion of the literary talent of the country was enlisted in its support; and the dignified nationality of its tone, and the fairness of its criticisms, amply merited the public favor by which it was sustained.

But the conduct of this journal did not fill up the time or exhaust the activity of its editor. The next enterprise in which he engaged was a "Life of John Ledyard, the American Traveller," which he published in one octavo volume, in 1828. It is a curious and instructive narrative, drawn up almost entirely from materials never before published, but which had been collected and preserved by one of the traveller's relatives. Ledyard's adventures were remarkable. In his youth he was a student of Dartmouth College; then a corporal of marines on board Captain Cook's vessel during his last voyage of discovery; next penetrating to the heart of Siberia, in an attempt to cross over from that quarter and explore the northern regions of the American continent. He finally died at Cairo, in Egypt, while on

the point of setting out for the interior of Africa. The work had marked success, having passed through several editions. It was soon republished in England, and a year afterwards it was translated into German by Dr. Michaelis, and published at Leipsic.

Mr. SPARKS had some time previously formed the plan of collecting together all the printed letters and other writings of Washington, and publishing them in one work, with the addition of such other original letters of his as might be found only in manuscript; the whole to be accompanied by historical notes and illustrations drawn chiefly from original sources. In procuring materials for this work, he examined personally, in 1826, the papers relating to the revolution in the public offices of all the old thirteen States, and in the Department of State at Washington; made selections from the same, and obtained copies of such as were to his purpose. At this stage of the undertaking, he entered into a contract with Judge Washington and Chief Justice Marshall, by which all the papers at Mount Vernon, which had belonged to General Washington, were placed in his hands. In the course of his researches, he likewise obtained many valuable subsidiary materials from the papers in possession of the descendants of the prominent actors in our national history during Washington's public life.

That nothing might be wanting for the execution of the work in the manner which its importance demanded, Mr. SPARKS made a voyage to Europe in 1828, and remained there a year, occupied exclusively in selecting and transcribing documents relating to the history of America in the public offices of London and Paris. Up to this time, the French and English public archives had been guarded with jealous care against foreigners, and even against natives, who wished to visit them for purposes of historical research. But, by the kind intervention of Sir James Mackintosh, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the late Lord Holland, in England, and of General Lafayette, the Marquis de Marbois, and others, in France, the doors were opened to him, though with precautions still indicating much sensitiveness. Since that time, a more liberal policy has prevailed. After a year's stay, Mr. SPARKS returned to this country with a rich collection of materials on the events of the revolution, which could nowhere else have been found. During this absence the editorship of the Review was transferred to Mr. John G. Palfrey. We may here remark, that he went abroad again in 1840, on the same errand, and made a further addition to his stores of original materials. One important result of this second visit was his discovery in the French archives of an original letter of

Franklin, and the famous map, with a red line drawn on it indicating our northeastern boundary, of which so much was said in the negotiation of the treaty of Washington.

The collections of which we have thus far spoken, were largely used by Mr. SPARKS in illustrating the writings of Washington, as they have been also used in throwing light upon the lives and characters of the eminent individuals, whose biographies he has either written or caused to be written. The invaluable manuscripts, deposited at Mount Vernon, ha g been arranged and transcribed under General Washington's own superintendence, the whole collection, amounting to about eighty folio volumes of his own letters, besides a larger number of volumes comprising letters written to him, had been preserved with scrupulous fidelity by his heirs, no person excepting the late Chief Justice Marshall having been allowed to make a complete examination of them. They were now confided absolutely to the discretion and editorial fidelity of Mr. SPARKS, who devoted a large portion of nine years to the task of selecting and preparing them for the press, and furnishing them with the appropriate illustrative matter. The work appeared in twelve handsome octavo volumes, between the years 1834 and 1837, entitled "The Writings of George Washington; being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and other Papers, Official and Private, selected and published from the Original Manuscripts, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations." The merits of the editor were well summed up in an able and impartial review of the publication by Mr. Edward Everett, which closes with the remark, that "his reward has been already in part enjoyed; it must be found in the consciousness of laboriously and worthily performing a noble work; in the conviction, that he has contributed to give a wider diffusion and a more abiding permanence to the fame of Washington; and that, whenever the authority of the greatest and best of chieftains and patriots is appealed to in all coming time, it will be in some association with his own name and labors."

The first volume of the work contains Mr. SPARKS' Life of Washington, which was also printed by itself, and has obtained the general confidence and wide circulation which it amply deserves. It is an admirably clear narrative, written with succinctness, perfect simplicity, and excellent taste, and in a manner which proves that the biographer was thinking only of his subject and not at all of himself. It was a *Life* written to accompany the *Writings* of Washington, the two portions of the whole work bearing a necessary relation to each other, and the former being quite subsidiary to the latter. As Mr. Everett

remarked, "It was the purpose of Mr. SPARKS to narrate, and not to discuss the character of Washington; to write an account of his life, and not an essay upon it." Rhetorical embellishments, or flights of eloquence, would be sadly out of place in portraying a life, which, like the Doric style in architecture, owes much of its grandeur to its faultless proportions and its severe simplicity. Of the notes and supplementary dissertations, with which the volumes are richly furnished, it is enough to say, that they are worthy of the subject, and are excellent independent contributions to history. In preparing them, almost exclusive use was made of the editor's large stores of manuscript materials, so that the pages are not encumbered with matter previously accessible in print. They are never controversial in tone, though they contain numerous silent corrections of statements made by other historians.

The success of the whole publication was decided, the voice of the best judges both in Europe and America unanimously declaring, that "the edition is worthy of the great name to which it is consecrated." A French version of those portions of it, which were deemed most interesting to the European public, appeared at Paris, in six volumes, under the superintendence of M. Guizot, who also contributed to it an admirable Introductory Discourse on the character, influence, and political career of Washington. The French edition contained a complete and literal translation of Mr. SPARKS' Life of Washington, and a judicious selection from the correspondence and other writings. A German version of the work, also, prepared in a similar manner by Von Raumer, was published at Leipsic.

Notwithstanding the great labor expended upon the Writings of Washington, Mr. SPARKS found time, while they were in preparation for the press, to edit and send forth two other important historical publications, and to commence a third. The first of these was entitled "The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution," being the letters of Franklin, Adams, Jay, Deane, Lee, Dana, and the other diplomatic agents from the United States in Europe, and also of the French ministers to Congress during the war of Independence. These letters had been preserved in the Department of State, though in a chaotic condition, and with many lamentable chasms in the series, some of which were supplied by Mr. SPARKS' researches in Europe, and from other sources in this country. The mass was reduced to order, the letters were arranged under their appropriate heads, and thus prepared for the press, with occasional editorial comments and explanations. The work was published by

the direction of Congress, and under a contract with the Secretary of State, and appeared in twelve octavo volumes in the years 1829 and 1830.

Only two years afterwards, three more volumes of great historical interest were published by the same indefatigable editor, entitled "The Life of Governeur Morris, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers, detailing Events in the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Political History of the United States." In the preparation of this work, he had the use of all Mr. Morris's manuscripts, which were furnished by his family. The career and character of Mr. Morris offered many points of rich and varied interest. He was a man of genius, bold, self-relying, capable of accomplishing whatever he undertook, and sure to leave the impress of his own vigorous powers on every subject that he touched. He stood in the foremost rank of the statesmen of the Revolution; he was an active member of the convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, and the phraseology of that instrument is to be attributed almost entirely to his pen. By his long residence in Europe, a part of the time as minister from the United States to France, during the most critical period of the French revolution, all the while keeping a diary and maintaining a large correspondence, he acquired great familiarity with Continental politics, and his papers were filled with anecdotes and interesting disquisitions. The Life is written with great discretion and good judgment, and the whole work is as interesting to the general reader as it is valuable to the historical student. A French version of the more important portions of it was made by M. Augustin Gandais, and published in two volumes at Paris.

The third enterprise of Mr. SPARKS, begun before the Writings of Washington were finished, was the publication of a "Library of American Biography," which was ultimately extended to a second series, embracing altogether twenty-five volumes. Nearly sixty lives are included in this collection, which may be distributed for convenience into four classes, according as they belong to Colonial times, to the annals of the Revolution, to the history of American politics, science, and literature, or to the post-revolutionary history of the Republic. Eight of these lives were from the pen of Mr. SPARKS, and among those possessing much new and interesting matter may be mentioned the lives of La Salle and of Benedict Arnold. The others were mostly contributed by writers of eminent attainments, whose names hold a conspicuous place in our national literature. The volumes embrace an amount of biographical and historical information, strictly

American in its character, which would be vainly sought elsewhere, being derived in many cases from materials that yet exist only in manuscript, or are very difficult of access. The great range of the editor's inquiries, and his long experience in historical investigations, enabled him to point out all the fountains whence knowledge could be obtained; and his fellow-laborers generally used the materials which he put into their hands with diligence and skill.

In this crowd of publications, we forgot to mention one work, originally planned by Mr. SPARKS, and the first volume of which was edited by him, and which has been continued in other hands with much success to the present day, having acquired and maintained a well-established character for accuracy, importance and usefulness. We refer to the "American Almanac, and Repository of Useful Knowledge." The Astronomical department of that volume was furnished by Professor Farrar. It was published in 1830.

In the course of his researches, Mr. SPARKS had discovered a number of unpublished familiar letters and other papers of Dr. Franklin, which, from their literary merit as well as their historical interest, seemed to be worthy of publication; and accordingly they were printed in a small volume, under his editorship, in 1833. His attention being thus drawn to the incompleteness of the former editions of Franklin's works, and a large collection of Franklin's papers in Philadelphia subsequently coming to light, he was led to project and execute the magnificent edition of the works of the great American philosopher and statesman, in ten octavo volumes, the publication of which was completed at Boston in 1840. It bears the following title: "The Works of Benjamin Franklin, containing several Political and Historical Tracts not included in any former Edition, and many Letters, Official and Private, not hitherto published; with Notes and a Life of the Author." How far the promise of the title-page was redeemed appears from the fact, that the edition comprised twenty-five different articles written by Franklin, which had never before been printed, and thirty-three others which were not in any previous edition of his writings. There were also two hundred and fifty-three of Franklin's letters, which had never before appeared in print, and one hundred and fifty-four others not included in any former edition. The editor also inserted, in illustration of Franklin's own writings, many letters addressed to him by his various correspondents, which were new to the public. Among these are letters from David Hume, Dr. Priestley, Richard Price, Sir Joseph Banks, Buffon, Campomanes, Lafayette, Count Vergennes, and many distinguished Americans.

Considering that Franklin died more than half a century before, that ever since his decease so much curiosity had been felt respecting every thing he had written, and that several collections of his miscellaneous writings had been made by those who, from their intimate relations with him, seemed most competent to obtain all the requisite materials, it seems extraordinary that Mr. SPARKS should have discovered so much new matter for this edition. The annotations in the form of notes are also numerous, and contain original facts and critical investigations of great value.

The Life of Franklin, which occupies the first volume of the work, embraces the autobiography, as far as he wrote it, and a continuation, by Mr. SPARKS, up to the time of Franklin's death. The interest of the autobiography is almost exclusively personal; that of the continuation is chiefly historical, interspersed with such personal incidents and anecdotes as could be derived from Franklin's familiar correspondence and other sources; and the two together give as full a view as can be desired of his private and public career. Mr. SPARKS takes up the story where Franklin left it, and tells it to the end in a clear, full, and satisfactory manner. The edition is an appropriate companion-work to that of the Life and Writings of Washington.

Mr. SPARKS has devoted his best years to the preparation of the long series of volumes, which give the full expression of the life, character, and services of the two persons, whose names shed the brightest lustre upon the annals of our young country; and he has reaped his reward by connecting his own reputation indissolubly with theirs. He has been, in some measure, the architect of a monument to their fame; and his own name is justly inscribed with theirs upon its base.

We may mention here the last historical collection published by Mr. SPARKS, though it did not appear till the commencement of the present year. It was published at Boston, in four large octavo volumes, entitled "Correspondence of the American Revolution, being Letters of Eminent Men to George Washington, from the time of his taking Command of the Army to the End of his Presidency. Edited from the Original Manuscripts." While Washington's papers were in his hands, Mr. SPARKS made a selection from the letters written to him, and copies were taken from the autographs. These are now published as a natural, and even an essential, accompaniment to the former work; and as forming, in connection with it, a very copious history of the most eventful and important period in the annals of America, written by those who were the leaders or chief agents in the events they

describe, and therefore chronicling the first impressions made by these events, and the contemporaneous exposition of them.

We have thus presented a brief sketch of Mr. SPARKS' labors in the field of historical research and literature, particularly as unfolding the events of the American revolution, and portraying the lives and characters of the principal actors in that great drama. Looking around our libraries at the present time, so richly stored with the long series of volumes published by him, and by a crowd of other historical students and editors, who have been induced by his success to follow in his footsteps, it is difficult to believe that so little should have been accomplished down to 1825, when Mr. SPARKS commenced his labors. Chief Justice Marshall's excellent Life of Washington was nearly the only work of note, pertaining to our revolutionary history, which professed to be drawn mainly from original unpublished documents. The sixty-six volumes above enumerated, have since appeared under the editorial supervision of Mr. SPARKS, consisting either of original materials first given by him to the world, or of historical or biographical works founded on such materials. So great a service as he has thus performed for his country would have been considered, either in England or France, as a national undertaking, to be executed under the sanction and at the expense of government, and as requiring the united efforts of several of the most eminent men of letters, before it could be satisfactorily accomplished. To the persevering application, discriminating judgment, and distinguished ability of the editor of these volumes, therefore, may be fairly attributed the honor of having laid broad and deep the foundation of American revolutionary history, whoever may be fortunate enough to raise the superstructure.

In 1839, the Corporation of Harvard College appointed Mr. SPARKS to the McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History in that venerable institution of learning, which appointment was confirmed by the Overseers. There was a peculiar appropriateness, at once perceived by the whole community, in thus selecting the biographer and editor of Franklin and Washington to expound the lessons of history to the students in the most ancient and renowned seminary of learning in the United States.

Mr. SPARKS performed the duties of this office till early in the year 1849, when, on the resignation of Mr. Edward Everett, the corporation and overseers, with the unanimous concurrent voice of the public, appointed him to the presidency of the University. This is not the place to enter into the history of his administration any farther than to remark, that it was a period of unbroken quiet and prosperity for

the institution. He commanded the unlimited respect and good-will of the students; and his colleagues at the several boards of government coöperated with him zealously and efficiently in the discharge of their respective duties. But the position was an arduous and responsible one, and its numerous duties weighed heavily upon a constitution which was orignally good, but had been severely tasked by the unremitting labors of a sedentary life. Twice compelled by the failure of his health to suspend the performance of his duties, he came reluctantly to the belief, at the close of 1852, that it was necessary for him to leave the University, and retire from its cares, having occupied the station four years. The Corporation received "with great regret the letter of resignation," assuring him of their conviction, "that the present prosperous condition of the college is, to a large extent, the result of the high tone of your influence and example, of the wisdom of the measures you have devised, and the extent of the reputation your character and attainments have secured." A letter of similar purport was sent to him by the Faculty, being the board of immediate instruction and discipline, and also by the Faculty of the Law School.

Since his resignation of the Presidency, Mr. SPARKS has resided as a private gentleman on the beautiful place which he owns at Cambridge.